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Setting a New Standard: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Regional Italian of Sicily in Andrea Camilleri's Commissario Montalbano Mystery Series

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Setting a New Standard: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Regional Italian of Sicily in Andrea Camilleri's Commissario Montalbano Mystery Series

by

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to Dmitriy. D, this is only the second-best thing I have ever done in my life. You will always be the first.

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Setting a New Standard: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Regional Italian of Sicily in Andrea Camilleri's Commissario Montalbano Mystery Series

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The purpose of this study was to conduct a sociolinguistic analysis of the regional Italian of Sicily in Andrea Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. The lexical portion of a model developed by Sgroi (1990) to examine the use of regional Italian in literature was applied to the thirty short stories in Camilleri's text to isolate the components of this variety. The study also attempted to identify the socio-economic features of the characters who speak regional Italian, the contexts of use of this variety and what the regionalisms in the stories indicate about Italy and the speech of Italians.

The model revealed that Camilleri utilizes three main types of language to regionalize his prose: Sicilian Italian regionalisms; phonological adaptations of Sicilian dialect terms; and, hyperfrequent Italian words. The regional terms comprise only 24.4% of the lexemes identified by the model, while 40.4% represent Italianizations of Sicilian dialect that may be artistic adaptations of the author. A

surprising 33.4% of the terms are standard Italian words that appear to have been chosen by Camilleri due to their similarity to equivalent Sicilian dialect terms.

With respect to the sociolinguistic aspects of the study, the findings were somewhat problematic owing to the nature of the mystery genre. Specifically, middle-aged policemen and police-related contexts of use are disproportionately represented in the stories. Nevertheless, it was determined that regional Italian is spoken by male and female characters who represent a wide range of ages and occupations. Furthermore, results illustrated that regionalisms are uttered most frequently in professional, public and formal contexts.

The requisites of the mystery genre also affected the findings in regard to Camilleri's portrayal of Italy and Italian speech. Much of the regional language used in the text exaggerates the criminal aspects of Italian society and the expressive quality of this variety. In a more realistic vein, however, many regionalisms emphasize the multi-cultural makeup of the country and the intangible facet of Italianness.

In general, the textual analysis indicates that regional Italian is a complex variety which may enjoy a broader usage in contemporary Italy than the traditional dialects.

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Chapter 1: Rationale

1.1 Investigating Regional Italian Usage through Literature

Since its establishment as the national language of Italy following the unification of 1861, *italiano standard* (standard Italian) has evolved considerably due to a host of factors, including contact with local and regional dialects. In fact, linguists (Cortelazzo, 1982; Berruto, 2004a; Grassi *et al.*, 2003) agree that there are now twenty distinct varieties of regional standard, known as *italiano regionale* (regional Italian), while the official standard exists only in the realm of literature. Despite the primacy of regional Italian, little is known about this variety outside Italy owing mainly to the fact that the standard remains the language of textbooks used around the world for the instruction of Italian. In addition, regional Italian has been relatively neglected in the field of sociolinguistics. The present study seeks to contribute to the scholarly research on regional Italian through a sociolinguistic analysis of the writing of author Andrea Camilleri. Although literature may seem an unlikely choice for an analysis of contemporary Italian language practices, literary language, and in particular that of Camilleri, is ideal for this type of study for two main reasons. First, Italy is unique in Europe for using literature to provide models of speech (Tosi, 2004, p. 250); the standard, for example, is a literary version of an elite Florentine dialect based on the thirteenth-century works of Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio (Beccaria, 1992, p. 64). Most importantly, Camilleri's use of Sicilian dialect and regional language has created a telling controversy among the Italian intellectual elite who have traditionally held the role of shaping these literary models.

1.2 Background: The Camilleri Controversy, the Critics, and the Scholars

Camilleri (1998a) has become famous precisely for avoiding the use of what he describes as an "*obsoleto* (obsolete)" standard in his writing (p. 142). His phenomenal success, which began with the publication of his sixth novel, *La forma dell'acqua* (The Shape of Water) in 1994, has therefore sparked a debate among Italian intellectuals that endures to the present day. On the surface, this debate centers on whether Camilleri's decision to use mixed language can be considered a "*scelta colta* (cultured choice)" if it is so beloved by readers (Lo Piparo as cited in Di Caro, 1997). On a deeper level, the dispute is indicative of a struggle over who has the right to control representations of the Italian culture: the intellectual elite or the reading public (Giovanardi, 1998). The entire issue has its origins in *la questione della lingua* (the language question), which refers to the centuries-long attempt in Italy to establish linguistic norms and codify the language in order to culturally unify the diverse population, a task for which Italian authors have historically assumed primary responsibility (Migliorini, 2004, pp. 309-310). In light of this intellectual ownership of the national language, Camilleri's use of an Italian colored with local, regional and even foreign elements can be interpreted as a sociopolitical statement about the extent to which the imposition of the standard has successfully achieved its unificatory goal. In other words, by writing in regional Italian, Camilleri has provoked the ire of these intellectuals not only for defying the Italian literary tradition of safeguarding the standard against encroachment from "substandard" and foreign language, but also for setting a new literary standard, so to speak, in presenting a more authentic portrait of the current linguistic situation in Italy.

The debate about Camilleri began at the height of his success in the mid to late 1990's, and included a wide range of participants: literary critics, editorialists,

authors, academics, sociologists, and even politicians. As the following citations illustrate, the initial criticism of his literary language focuses predominantly on his use of the Sicilian dialect: "*impasto siculo-italiano* (Siculo-Italian mixture)" (Malatesta, 1997); "*miscela di italiano e dialetto* (blend of Italian and dialect)" (Capecchi, 2000, p. 29); "*siciliano […] di tipo folcloristico* (folkloristic […] type of Sicilian)" (Collura, 1998); "*italiano 'sporco'* ('dirty' Italian)" (Mauri, 1998); and "*una lingua mescidata, e sprofondata talvolta nel ventre del dialetto* (a blended language, and at times cast down into the belly of dialect)" (Onofri, 1995, p. 239). The varying tone of these remarks illustrates that literary representations of the mixing of language and dialect are a controversial issue among Italian intellectuals, despite the fact that these representations reflect contemporary linguistic practices. According to the 2007 report of the *Istituto Nazionale di Statistica* (National Institute of Statistics, ISTAT), in 2006 approximately one-third of Italians regularly mixed dialect and Italian when speaking with friends and family, while nineteen percent did so with strangers (p. 1).

In recent years, the media circus around Camilleri has begun to subside and his literary language has become the subject of more serious scholarly inquiry. Scholars have largely shifted their attention from Camilleri's Sicilian, however, to the precise nature of his Italian. Vizmuller-Zocco (2001), for example, maintains that "*la base linguistica di tutti i romanzi di Camilleri è l'italiano neostandard* (the linguistic base of all of Camilleri's novels is neostandard Italian)", undoubtedly due to the abundant presence in his writing of elements typical of this variety, such as morphosyntactic simplification, colloquialisms and anglicisms. La Fauci (2003, p. 338; 2004, p. 165), Lupo (2004, p. 21) and Manai (2008, p. 9) consider Camilleri's language in broader terms, asserting that it is an artistic rendering of the "*italiano*

regionale (regional Italian)" of Sicily. Their assessment is particularly significant not only because it stresses the geographical dimension of his Italian, but also because it explains the presence of the two most hotly contested features of Camilleri's language: code-mixing of Sicilian and Italian; and, phonologically adapted lexical items, i.e., Italianized Sicilian terms.

1.3 The Plan: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Camilleri's Regional Italian

Despite the considerable amount of discussion about Camilleri, to date there have been surprisingly few critical analyses of his language and scholars remain divided on the subject. Taking the position of La Fauci (2003; 2004), Lupo (2004) and Manai (2008) as my point of departure, I therefore attempt to contribute to this gap in the scholarly literature by utilizing a linguistic model of sociolinguistic analysis developed by Salvatore Sgroi (1990) to accomplish the following objectives with respect to Camilleri's use of the regional Italian of Sicily:

a) isolate its main lexical features;

b) identify the social makeup of its speakers and the contexts of their usage of lexical regionalisms; and,

c) ascertain what Camilleri's use of regional Italian indicates about modern-day Italy and the speech of Italians.

It is my contention that a text featuring Sicilian is an excellent medium for research on the Italian language situation since Sicily has long been considered a metaphor for Italy (Sciascia as cited in Padovani, 1994, p. 60; Lupo, 2004, p. 22).

For my analysis, I use Camilleri's collection of short stories from 1998, entitled *Un mese con Montalbano* (*A Month with Montalbano*), an homage to fellow

Sicilian author Luigi Pirandello's *Novelle per un anno (Short Stories for a Year)* (1922). Although Camilleri writes both mysteries and historical fiction, I have chosen to focus exclusively on his Commissario Salvo Montalbano mystery series not only because it is the driving force behind his unprecedented success, but also because the short stories about Montalbano are his only works at present that have been adapted by both Italian and Danish scholastic publishers for use in the instruction of Sicilian and standard Italian, respectively. Unfortunately, these adaptations simplify and even standardize the language of the original texts and thereby perpetuate the established norm of teaching students marginal and archaic forms of Italian. Consequently, a secondary objective of this dissertation is to underscore the value of Camilleri's original texts as tools for teaching and learning about both the new standard Italian and the regional lexicon of contemporary Sicily.

1.4 A Brief Review of the Literature: The Regional Italian of Sicily

As stated previously, in order to analyze Camilleri's regional Italian I utilize Sgroi's linguistic model as presented in the 1990 study entitled "*Per un analisi strutturale dell'italiano regionale di Sicilia. Un applicazione al* Giorno della Civetta *di Leonardo Sciascia* (Toward a Structural Analysis of the Regional Italian of Sicily. An application to *Il Giorno della Civetta* by Leonardo Sciascia)". As the title of this paper suggests, the model was originally designed to examine Sciascia's use of the regional Italian of Sicily in his 1961 mystery novel *Il giorno della civetta* (The Day of the Owl). Although Sgroi based the model primarily on the linguistic concepts of Weinreich (1953) and Tropea (1976), many of its features come from his own analysis of Sciascia's regional Italian. Because it is applied to a written text, the model privileges the lexical and syntactic aspects of language, while necessarily disregarding its phonetic, phonemic and prosodic qualities. The key emphasis of the

model is therefore on three main types of language usage as depicted in Sciascia's novel: Sicilian, lexical regionalisms, and morphosyntactic regionalisms.

For my investigation of the lexical features of Camilleri's regional Italian of Sicily, I utilize the second section of Sgroi's model, in which he identifies seven kinds of lexical language:

regionalismi segnici (sign regionalisms)
regionalismi fraseologici (phraseological regionalisms)
regionalismi semantici (semantic regionalisms)
adattamento fonologico di parole affini (phonological adaptations of similar words)
ipercaratterizzazione (hypercharacterization)
iperfrequenza (hyperfrequency)
regionalismi 'atipici' ('atypical' regionalisms)
regionalismi segnici (sign regionalisms)

Figure 1. Sgroi's (1990) Model of Lexical Regionalisms (p. 287)

Before proceeding with the study, however, I address several limitations of this model. First, nowhere in the essay does Sgroi define regional Italian and his definitions of the various kinds of lexical regionalisms are sparse, all of which makes it difficult to ascertain how he arrives at certain decisions with respect to the coding of items. Second, he treats language as though it can be neatly separated into distinct categories, which is simply not the case. In fact, many of the lexical items Sgroi lists as specific to a particular category can be cross-listed with another; for example, most sign and semantic regionalisms are, due to the very nature of regional Italian, phonological adaptations of dialect terms. Finally, although Sgroi provides the contexts of use of each of the regionalisms along with the names of the respective speakers in order to highlight the sociolinguistic conditions of the various regional uses, he fails to present a comprehensive analysis of his findings. To resolve these issues, I rely on monolingual Sicilian and Italian dictionaries, etymological

references, and the following four studies: Tropea (1976); Sgroi (1979-1980); Leone (1982); and Berruto (2004a).

Tropea's (1976) *Italiano di Sicilia* (Italian of Sicily) is critical for understanding the underlying theoretical structure of Sgroi's model and for identifying regionalisms particular to Sicily. In the first part of the book, Tropea defines regional Italian and explains how this variety differs from that of *italiano popolare* (popular Italian). In part two, he provides a chapter on each of five main levels of regional language usage—pronunciation, morphosyntax, lexicon, hypercorrections, and atypical regionalisms—all of which are incorporated in varying degrees of importance into Sgroi's model, with the exception of pronunciation. For my purposes, I utilize the chapters on lexicon, hypercorrection and atypical regionalisms. Although the information regarding the specific features of these types of regional language is somewhat limited, the three chapters in question are extremely helpful because they contain approximately eighty pages in total of Sicilian lexical regionalisms. And, for every regionalism Tropea lists a basic Italian translation, the Sicilian term of origin, an explanation or example of its use, and the area of its usage (Catania/Eastern Sicily, Palermo/Western Sicily, or both). To supplement the terms in these chapters, I also refer to Tropea's 1990 essay "Nuovo contributo alla conoscenza dell'italiano in Sicilia (New Contribution to the Knowledge of Italian in Sicily)", which consists of an inventory of regionalisms not included in his 1976 study.

To gain better insight into both how Sgroi defines regional Italian and the ways in which he incorporates Tropea's (1976) conceptual framework of regional Italian into his model, I consult his 1979-1980 article "Lingue in contatto, italiano regionale e italiano di Sicilia (Languages in Contact, Regional Italian and Italian of Sicily)". In this study, Sgroi provides a thorough definition of regional Italian in terms

of its relationship to the standard and explains both the origin and significance of many of the categories that would eventually comprise his 1990 model of the regional Italian of Sicily. In addition, he introduces various patterns of language contact between the standard and Sicilian in terms of phonology, morphophonology, morphosyntax and lexicon. I focus on the lexical section of the essay, which contains a short summary of the similarities between the theoretical frameworks of Weinreich (1953) and Tropea (1976) in regard to lexical regionalisms, as well as Sgroi's own rationale for revising their respective terminologies. This section is also useful because it concludes with an inventory, however brief, of Sicilian regionalisms, many of which Sgroi lists because they are absent from Tropea's 1976 study.

In contrast to Tropea (1976; 1990) and Sgroi (1979-1980), who mainly provide broad descriptions of the features of regional Italian and glossaries of Sicilian lexical regionalisms, Leone (1982) presents a much more comprehensive picture of Sicilian regional language forms and uses in *L'Italiano regionale in Sicilia: Esperienze di forme locali nella lingua comune* (The Regional Italian of Sicily: Experiences with Local Forms in the Common Language). Specifically, this study includes a general account of the history, evolution and geography of the regional Italian of Sicily, as well as an analysis of the complex relationship between regional Italian, popular Italian and the Sicilian dialect. It also contains the results of a survey which examines the usage of specific Sicilian regionalisms and their corresponding dialect terms among residents of eighteen cities and towns across Sicily. Most importantly, Leone discusses the origin of various hypercorrections and atypical regionalisms, and gives detailed descriptions of the lexicon, phonetics, morphology, syntax and stylistics of the regional Italian of Sicily. I therefore use this study, and in particular the chapters pertaining to common lexical and morphological features, to identify

and classify terms which may not be listed in the glossaries of Sicilian regionalisms provided by Tropea (1976; 1990) and Sgroi (1979-1980).

Because the above-mentioned studies limit their discussions of regional Italian primarily to the regional and local spheres, it is necessary to utilize Berruto's (2004a) *Sociolinguistica dell'italiano contemporaneo* (Sociolinguistics of Contemporary Italian) in order to place this variety within the broader Italian context. According to Berruto, the main architecture of contemporary Italian consists of nine major varieties of Italian, all of which lie on a linguistic continuum divided along diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic and diamesic lines. Through the use of this continuum, he is able to illustrate and explain areas of similarity and overlap between the varieties, as well as make basic generalizations about the socio-economic backgrounds of those who speak them—two important elements which, as I have noted previously, are absent from Sgroi's model. Additionally, he uses the continuum to underscore the predominance of regional language within the Italian context. Berruto's notion of a continuum therefore serves as the main theoretical basis for both resolving the weaknesses of the model and, subsequently, for conducting my qualitative analysis of Camilleri's depiction of the regional Italian of Sicily, its speakers, and the modern-day language situation in Italy.

1.5 An Overview of the Dissertation

In order to fully understand and appreciate the Sicilian regional language of Andrea Camilleri, it is first necessary to be familiar with two important facets of Italian linguistic and cultural history: the intricate relationship between Latin, the Italian dialects, the standard and other varieties of Italian, such as, bureaucratic, popular, neo-standard and regional Italian; and, the strong tradition of prescriptivism with respect to the language which developed as a result of author involvement in

the ongoing *questione della lingua* (language question). These factors, as I illustrate in Chapter 2, underlie both the tremendous disparity that has existed between written and spoken forms and varieties of language throughout the history of Italy, as well as the contrasting and often disparaging value judgments associated with them. In Chapter 3, I discuss the ways in which this spoken/written Italian linguistic dichotomy and the issue of negative feelings about language have profoundly influenced not only Camilleri's use of language, but also the differing reactions the author and his writing have received from the general Italian reading public, literary critics and scholars of his work. Because Camilleri's blend of dialect and language is generally recognized as "*italiano regionale* (regional Italian)" (La Fauci, 2003, 2004; Lupo, 2004; Manai, 2008), I provide an overview in Chapter 4 of the general definition of this variety and the theoretical and empirical developments in the scholarship specific to the lexical regionalisms of Italy and Sicily. I then outline my methodological approach to the analysis of Camilleri's use of the regional Italian of Sicily in his collection of short stories entitled *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, I present my findings with respect to each of the three research questions. Finally, in Chapter 7 I summarize my findings and consider their pedagogical implications. I conclude this dissertation with a discussion of its limitations and make suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: The Italian Language Situation

2.1 The Peculiarity of the Italian Language Situation

The linguistic situation in Italy today is one of the most complex in the world. The national language is *italiano standard* (standard Italian), which is actually a literary model of speech that was adapted by Italy's authors from an elite, fourteenth-century Florentine dialect. Despite its official status, the standard is neither written nor spoken by Italians; in fact, it exists only in classical literature and in the textbooks used to teach Italian in Italy and abroad. The contemporary spoken language is most accurately described as *italiano regionale* (regional Italian), which is the product of the literary standard and the native Gallo-Italic *dialetti* (dialects) of the Italian people. Interestingly, these so-called "dialects" are not dialects at all; they are sister languages of standard Italian. The authentic dialects of Italian are actually the regional Italians, i.e., the twenty varieties of standard spoken in each of Italy's regions. To summarize, the standard spoken language of Italy is not standard Italian but rather regional Italian, while the dialects of Italy are not the Gallo-Italic dialects but rather the twenty regional Italians.

The origins of this peculiar language situation, as I explain in the paragraphs that follow, can be traced to the ancient Roman practice of maintaining separate and unequal forms of written and spoken language. Not only did this practice shape the current Italian linguistic landscape, it also created a power struggle for the right to control representations of the Italian language and culture that persists to the present day.

2.1.1 The Ancient Origins of the Italian Language Divide

The extraordinary linguistic situation of contemporary Italy has its origins in the divide between Vulgar and Classical Latin in ancient Rome. Prior to the advent of the Roman Empire, the Italian Peninsula was divided into numerous territories inhabited by Mediterranean and Indo-European populations. During the middle of the first millennium B.C., the ancient Romans, who were the descendents of the Indo-European people known as the Latini, began to extend their empire beyond Rome. As the Roman soldiers advanced throughout the peninsula and into Europe, they imposed a vulgar variety of Classical Latin spoken by the Roman middle-classes on the populations they conquered. Each population acquired Latin differently, however, due to interference from its native language. The contact between Latin and these substrate languages gave rise to a number of spoken varieties of Latin, known as the *volgari latini* (Vulgar Latins), which varied primarily according to register, social stratum and region (Maiden, 1995, p. 12). These Vulgar Latins continued to diversify due primarily to natural processes of language change and contact with adstrate languages, i.e., neighboring languages, and superstrate languages, i.e., the languages of the Goths, Lombards, Franks, Byzantine Greeks, Arabs, and so forth, who invaded Italy in the centuries subsequent to the fall of Rome. As Vulgar Latin evolved, Classical Latin was maintained virtually intact in literature by the preservationist efforts of the Roman intellectual elite.

The co-existence of separate and distinct varieties of spoken and written Latin during the Roman Empire had a profound and lasting impact on the development of language in Italy. The Vulgar Latins developed into innumerable and often mutually unintelligible regional and local languages, which created serious geographical and cultural divisions among the people of Italy. The people were further divided by

social class, since only those with access to education could acquire the knowledge of Classical Latin necessary to hold prominent positions in society. Because Classical Latin remained the language of literature long after Vulgar Latin had ceased to be spoken, the elite hegemony over language continued in Italy, thereby establishing an enduring tradition of authors controlling the linguistic norms and representations of language.

2.1.2 Dante and the *Questione della Lingua*

The first author to officially address the language divide in Italy was Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) (Marazzini, 1999, p. 21). In Dante's time, Vulgar Latin had long since given way to the *volgari* (vernaculars), while Classical Latin was still employed in literature, academic texts and legal and administrative documents, despite the fact that it was viewed by intellectuals as an artificial literary language. Although Dante's dream was to create a single language and culture for Italy, he knew that this would be impossible due to the tremendous diversity of the Italian people (Sobrero and Miglietta, 2006, p. 22). Inspired by the thirteenth-century linguistic innovations of the Bolognese poets of the *Dolce Stil Novo* (Sweet New Style) and the poets of the Sicilian School, whose courtly love poems established Sicilian as the first literary language of Italy (Baldelli, 1993, pp. 582-583), he therefore sought to unite the Italian intellectual elite with the creation of a new language of literature (Sobrero and Miglietta, p. 22).

To achieve his lofty objective, Dante proposes in *De vulgari eloquentia (On Eloquence in the Vernacular)*, an unfinished Latin treatise written between 1302 and 1305, that Classical Latin be replaced with a vernacular. In his view, the vernacular is "*nobilior* (more noble)" than Classical Latin because it represents living language (Dante, 1305/1996, p. 2). He clarifies, however, that the vernacular selected must

be "*illustre* (illustrious)"; namely, it must have the grammatical stability of an artificial language but none of the popular features common to natural language (Dante, p. 40). After declaring the Italian vernaculars to be superior due to the quality of their poetry, Dante takes the reader on "*venationi* (huntings)" for the *vulgare illustre*, considering each of fourteen regional Italian vernaculars on the basis of his own aesthetic criteria (p. 26). He claims, for example, that "*Romanorum non vulgare, sed potius tristiloquium* (Roman is not so much a vernacular as a vile jargon)" and that Sardinians do not have a vernacular but "*gramaticam tanquam simie homines imitantes* (instead imitate Latin as apes do humans) (Ibid.). Dante ultimately determines that there is no Italian vernacular worthy of replacing Classical Latin, but concedes that there are a few select writers in Florence, himself included, who understand the "*vulgaris excellentiam* (excellence of the vernacular)," thereby establishing his own credentials to create a new literary language (p. 32).

Dante's treatise forever changed the course of Italian, indeed Western, linguistic history. According to Botterill (1996), *De vulgari eloquentia* symbolizes nothing less than "the Declaration of Independence of the 'modern languages'" (p. xviii). Within the context of Italy, Antonio Gramsci (2001) calls this document "*un atto di politica culturale-nazionale* (an act of cultural-national politics)", explaining that even though it pre-dates unification by almost six hundred years, it deals with an issue that would become central to Italian national politics; namely, uniting Italians culturally by means of language (p. 2350). *De vulgari eloquentia* therefore represents "*i primi paragrafi della 'questione della lingua'* (the first paragraphs of the 'language question')," a debate about both the selection and the ideal composition of the national Italian language that endured for approximately six centuries (Marazzini, 1999, p. 19). While the theme and the approach to the debate varied somewhat

throughout the years, Dante's notion of a *vulgare illustre* remained central to the issue. In the centuries that followed, Italian authors would continue his 'hunt' for an elite language with the lexicon, syntax, morphology and phonology befitting a culture with a long and distinguished literary tradition.

2.1.3 Bembo and the Codification of Literary Florentine

Two centuries after Dante's death, the *questione della lingua* reemerged with Venetian author Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) at the forefront. By the sixteenth century, the supremacy of Florentine over the other vernaculars had been firmly established due to the extraordinary political, economic and cultural achievements of Florence during the Renaissance. Part of the cultural notoriety of Florentine stemmed from the enormous success of the fourteenth-century literature of Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio. Intellectuals therefore accepted the idea of Florentine as the language of literature, but they disagreed about which variety to use. There were three linguistic models of Florentine in consideration. Vincenzo Colli, Giangiorgio Trissino and others proposed the creation of a "*lingua cortigiana* (courtesan language)" based on fourteenth-century Florentine and foreign lexical elements from the papal court vernacular, while Niccolò Macchiavelli and Claudio Tolomei each advocated the use of contemporary spoken Florentine (Sobrero and Miglietta, 2006, p. 31). In contrast to these spoken models, Bembo promoted an archaic literary variety based on the poetry of Petrarca and the prose of Boccaccio (ironically, he rejected Dante's Florentine because of its popular elements) (Sobrero and Miglietta, pp. 30-31).

In his 1525 treatise *Prose della volgar lingua (Writings in the Vernacular Language)*, Bembo codified archaic literary Florentine. He justified his selection of a literary rather than a spoken variety of Florentine on two grounds: he argued that "*non si puo dire che sia veramente lingua alcuna favella, che non ha scrittore* (one

cannot say any speech is truly a language, if it does not have an author)" (p. 36); and, he asserted that "*le lingue delle scritture [...] non dee a quella del popolo accostarsi* (the languages of writing [...] must not approach that of the people)" (Bembo, 2001, p. 44). Bembo's linguistic model was supported by "*L'Accademia della Crusca* (The Academy of the Bran Flake)", which was founded as a "*vera e propria <<polizia>> linguistica* (true and proper linguistic 'police')" with the scope of promoting archaic literary Florentine and censuring any features not encompassed by this norm as "<<*non di lingua*>> ('non-language')" (Grassi *et al.*, 2003, p. 20).

Bembo's *Prose* had serious ramifications for the future of the Italian language. First, the literary language did not develop naturally but instead developed along elitist, archaic and even artificial lines, which was precisely the situation that had prompted authors and scholars to call for the replacement of Classical Latin. Also, the codification of literary Florentine created a growing awareness of the distinction between "*lingua* (language)" as a written idiom used to communicate in an extensive territory and "*dialetto* (dialect)" as a spoken idiom used to meet daily needs in a territory of limited size (Grassi *et al.*, 2003, p. 20). As a result, Florentine increasingly assumed the import of a national language while the other vernaculars were gradually demoted to the function of "*dialetti italiani* (Italian dialects)" (Ibid.). Bembo's legacy was therefore a divisive one: the rift between literary and spoken language that had begun in ancient Roman times not only persisted in Renaissance Italy, but actually widened during the next four centuries due to the codification of Florentine (Maiden, 1995, p. 8).

2.1.4 Manzoni and the Selection of the Standard

In the nineteenth century, Milanese author Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) revolutionized the *questione della lingua* by shifting its focus from the literary to the

social and political realms. Initially, Manzoni had intended to craft a new language of literature that would ease the language divide left in the wake of Bembo's *Prose*. After revisiting his thoughts about language in the treatise *Della lingua italiana (On the Italian Language)* (1830), however, he determined that the national language question was of much greater import. In accordance with the Romanticism of the period, which presented living language as the ideal language of literature (Ives, 2004, p. 37), Manzoni decided that the Italian language problem could be solved by using a contemporary and well-articulated dialect of a single city as both the written and spoken norm (Sobrero and Miglietta, 2006, p. 46). He based his selection criteria for the spoken idiom, however, on its distinction as a literary language. Due to the lasting legacy of the literature of Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio, he determined that the national language should be based on an elite dialect of contemporary Florence. Manzoni therefore had to justify why he chose Florentine rather than a dialect of Sicily to form the basis of the Italian national language, since Sicilian had been considered by many to have been the first literary language of Italy owing to the thirteenth-century success of the courtly love poems of the Sicilian School. Referring to Dante's discussion of this School in *De vulgari eloquentia*, Manzoni explains his decision as follows:

> *La testimonianza è irrecusabile, ma non fa al caso. Rimane bensì fuor di dubbio che, in tutta Italia, s'è detto: poesia siciliana; ma siccome non s'è detto (e come si sarebbe potuto dire?) lingua siciliana, per significare una lingua che fosse o potesse diventar comune a tutti gl'Italiani, così quel fatto è totalmente estraneo alla questione della lingua italiana. Fu il nome d'una scuola, non d'un popolo, d'un frasario, non d'una lingua.*

> *Si potè bensì dire <<lingua toscana>> in un senso nazionale; e perché era una lingua, e perché, grazie soprattutto a que' primi stupendi e veri maestri, e poi ad altri insigni scrittori, potè manifestare una ricchezza e una varietà di forme, un'energia, e anche non di rado un'aggiustatezza, da emulare l'ammirato e pianto latino*
>
> (The testimony is irrefutable, but does not serve our purpose. It remains, rather, beyond doubt that in all of Italy we have said: Sicilian poetry; but since we have not said [and how could we have said?] Sicilian language, to mean a language that would or could become common to all Italians, that fact is therefore extraneous to the Italian question of the language. It was the name of a school, not of a people, of a phraseology, not of a language.
>
> We could, rather, say 'Tuscan language' in a national sense; and because it was a language, and because, thanks above all to those first stupendous and true masters, and then to other illustrious authors, it was able to manifest a richness and a variety of forms, an energy, and often even an adjustedness to emulate the admired and lamented Latin) (Manzoni, 1972, p. 315).

Ironically, then, Manzoni rejected Sicilian because its prominence as a literary language was based on poetry rather than prose, an argument that could certainly be extended to Florentine since Petrarca wrote poetry and both Dante and Boccaccio wrote in rhymed verse. In yet another ironic twist, Manzoni would not promote the actual spoken dialect of contemporary Florence as the national language of Italy, but rather, in the tradition of Dante, a literary model of this speech that he perfected for two decades.

Manzoni modeled his prototype of the Italian national language in the 1840 edition of his classic novel *I promessi sposi (The Betrothed)*. Manzoni and his novel were so influential that the Italian Ministry of Education appointed him to head a governmental commission to resolve the language question following the Italian *Risorgimento* (Unification) of 1861 (Maiden, 1995, p. 9). The Ministry, which recognized the need famously expressed by Italian statesman Massimo D'Azeglio to 'create Italians' following the political creation of Italy, shared Manzoni's belief that the implementation of a national standard language was the only way to culturally unite the population (Lepschy, 2002, p. 19). Manzoni was therefore charged with the difficult task "*d'aiutare e rendere più universale in tutti gli ordini del popolo la notizia della buona lingua* (of helping and rendering more universal the news about good language among all the social classes of the people)" (Manzoni, 1990, p. 596). In his *Relazione (Report)* to the Italian government, Manzoni recommended that Tuscan teachers, dialect dictionaries and primers be used to disseminate contemporary Florentine as the national language of Italy (Manzoni, pp. 597-598).

2.1.5 The Italian State and the Imposition of the Standard

The handling by the Italian State of Manzoni's policy recommendations resulted in a peculiar solution to the *questione della lingua*. Although the State officially endorsed Manzoni's plan, the policy it implemented in Italian schools was actually that of his conservative followers, a group of authors known as "*i manzonisti* (the Manzonians)" (Grassi *et al.*, 2003, p. 22). The educational programs executed by the *manzonisti* directly contradicted those of Manzoni in two main respects: namely, they waged a fierce campaign against what they described as the "*malerba dialettale* (dialectal weed)" (Ibid.) and promoted the traditional, puristic model of archaic Florentine in scholastic dictionaries, grammar books and primers (Sobrero

and Miglietta, 2006, pp. 49-50). Ironically, then, whereas Manzoni had intended to establish a living dialect of Florence, albeit somewhat modified, as the national idiom, Manzonian policy had a very different outcome: it led to the state-sponsored vilification of the dialects, which represented the true cultural patrimony of the Italian people, and the imposition of an archaic and artificial literary language as the oral standard of Italy.

2.1.6 Ascoli and the Persistence of the *Questione della lingua*

Graziadio Ascoli (1975), the father of Italian dialectology, took issue with Manzonian policy in his "*Proemio* (Proem)" to the "*Archivio glottologico italiano* (Italian Glottological Archive)" of 1873, arguing that unification could not be achieved through the imposition of a linguistic norm, but rather unification occurs and language is spread following the transformation of society (pp. 34-35). He blamed the "*doppio inciampo della civilità italiana: la scarsa densità della cultura e l'eccessiva preoccupazione della forma* (double obstacle of the Italian civilization: the scarce density of the culture and the excessive preoccupation with form)" for the fact that Italy had not yet developed a national language, as had France and Germany (Ascoli, p. 30). Although Ascoli agreed with the choice of archaic Florentine, he realized that Italians had no compelling reason to embrace it since Florence was no longer the center of cultural and political power in nineteenth-century Italy (Ascoli, pp. 18-19). He argued that it would be necessary to involve the Italian people in the *questione della lingua* by promoting the use of the standard in the name of cultural and scientific progress, while respecting local and regional dialects; otherwise, he predicted that the implementation of Florentine would fail (Ascoli, pp. 31-35).

Ascoli's prediction proved to be correct: the imposition of Florentine, while marking an official end to the *questione della lingua*, did not fully resolve the Italian

language problem. Manzoni's plan, rather than implementing programs to spread language through national community-building, placed the burden of diffusing the standard solely on the Italian educational system, which was woefully unprepared for the task. According to De Mauro (1963), at the time of unification only 2.5% of the population spoke a dialect close to archaic Florentine (p. 43), although Castellani (1982) estimates this figure to be as high as 9.52% (p. 24). And, despite the fact that elementary school was obligatory in 1861, 78% of the population was illiterate, including many teachers (De Mauro, 1963, p. 37). Furthermore, most teachers had no training in Florentine and therefore often taught in their local dialect (Grassi *et al.*, 2003, p. 26). As a result, the acquisition of Italian was problematic at best until the establishment of obligatory middle schools in 1962 (Grassi *et al.*, 2003, p. 27). Indeed, De Mauro based the 1963 edition of his *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita (Linguistic History of United Italy)* on the assumption that while political unification had been achieved in 1861, linguistic unification was still far from complete.

2.1.7 The Development of the Italian Varieties

In the end, both Manzoni and Ascoli were right: Italians needed a model of speech in order to come together as a nation, but a transformation of society was necessary to spread this model. And, despite the lack of a system of mass schooling, the societal transformation advocated by Ascoli was eventually set in motion by a series of historical events that brought large segments of the population together for the first time (Sobrero and Miglietta, 2006, p. 51). Uniting Italians from diverse regions not only helped to circulate the standard, but also led to the development of varieties of Italian. One of the most significant forces behind the dissemination of the language was the Industrial Revolution, which encouraged the mass emigration of civilians from Southern to Northern regions and the urbanization of Italian towns.

The creation of bureaucracy following national unification also played a major role in the diffusion and formation of Italian, as bureaucrats who were required to communicate with citizens in the standard created a stiff and formulaic variety known as *l'italiano burocratico* (bureaucratic Italian). A common variety, *l'italiano popolare* (popular Italian), arose during World War I when uneducated, dialect-speaking soldiers from all over Italy attempted to approximate standard Italian to communicate. The advent of the media had the most striking effect on the linguistic repertory: radio, film and, in particular, television spread the language nationally and, in the second half of the twentieth century, contributed to the evolution of a new, socially-determined variety of the standard referred to as "*l'italiano neo-standard* (neo-standard Italian)" (Berruto, 2004a, p. 55).

Not only did the spread of Italian create new varieties at the national level, it altered the linguistic landscape of the regions, as well. Contact between Italian and dialect produced new varieties of each in Italy's twenty regions. Within the Italian set, the influence of the regional dialects on the neo-standard created a variety known as *l'italiano regionale* (regional Italian), which now constitutes the "standard" Italian of the regions (Berruto, 2004a, p. 24). These regional standards are also differentiated socially: members of the educated middle-class speak "*l'italiano regionale colto medio* (regional average educated Italian)", while the uneducated lower-classes speak a sub-standard variety known as "*l'italiano regionale popolare* (regional popular Italian)" (Berruto, 2004a, pp. 23-24). With regard to the dialectal set, the regional dialect often operates in opposition to urban and rural dialects and occasionally a regional koiné, i.e., a regional dialect that has become the common language of a much larger expanse of territory (Alfonzetti, 1990, p. 181). Because of the substantial structural differences between the dialects and the literary standard,

and between the dialects themselves, they are actually "separate linguistic systems" from Italian (Berruto, 1989, p. 8). Berruto (1989) maintains that "the regional Italians are therefore the true 'dialects of Italian'" (pp. 8-9).

2.2 Contemporary Language Usage

Although the use of what is most appropriately described as regional Italian is now commonplace throughout Italy, linguistic unification may still be considered incomplete. Despite the hegemonic efforts of Italian authors and the educational system, many Italians continue to speak dialect on a regular basis. Indeed, Tosi (2004) concludes that the main difference between today and the period of the *Risorgimento* is that "in the space of 150 years the Italian situation changed from widespread monolingualism to widespread bilingualism" (p. 259). As I discuss below, this bilingualism has significantly altered not only the linguistic practices of Italians, but also their view of dialect and Italian and those who use them.

2.2.1 Diglossia vs. Dilalìa

The contemporary linguistic repertory in Italy is typically described as a diglossia, a linguistic state defined by Ferguson (1959) in which a prestigious, high variety supported by a large and respected body of literature (i.e., Italian) is employed "for most written and formal spoken purposes" and a non-prestigious low variety (i.e., the Italian dialects) is used "for ordinary conversation" (p. 336). According to Sornicola (1977: pp. 45-46), Varvaro (1978: pp. 68-69) and Berruto (1989: p. 14), however, the functions of Italian and dialect are not so highly specialized. In fact, Berruto (1989) maintains that the contemporary usage of these two varieties is indicative of "a process of language change or language shift from the dialects toward Italian" that "is in progress or to be foreseen" (p. 8). He therefore suggests labeling the overall language situation in Italy as one of "*dilalìa*",

according to which a high variety is increasingly used in domains that were once confined to the use of a low variety, such as familial speech, with the result that "*entrambe le varietà, sia la alta che la bassa, sono parlate nella conversazione informale* (both varieties, whether the high or the low, are spoken in informal conversation)" (Berruto, 1987, p. 66).

A survey conducted in 2006 by the *Istituto Nazionale di Statistica* (National Institute of Statistics), supports Berruto's notion of *dilalìa* in the Italian context. This study examined the linguistic practices of 54,000 Italian citizens ranging in age from six to seventy-five. As Table 1 below illustrates, participants were asked whether they speak "*solo o prevalentemente italiano* (only or prevalently Italian)", "*solo o prevalentemente dialetto* (only or prevalently dialect)", "*sia italiano che dialetto* (both Italian and dialect)" or "*altra lingua* (another language)" in three main domains of usage: "*in famiglia* (in the family); "*con amici* (with friends)"; and "*con estranei* (with strangers)". The data clearly demonstrate the principal finding of the study: "*cresce l'uso dell'italiano* (the use of Italian is growing)" while "*diminuisce l'uso esclusivo del dialetto* (the exclusive use of dialect is diminishing)" (ISTAT, 2007, p. 1). Specifically, Italian is making steady gains in the personal realm where dialect has traditionally been the preferred language of use. Not surprisingly, Italian usage is also increasing among individuals who do not know one another.

Table 1. Persons 6 years of age and older according to the language habitually used in diverse relational contexts. Years 1987/88, 1995, 2000 and 2006 *(percentage values)* (ISTAT, 2007, p. 2)

Years	In the Family				With Friends				With Strangers			
	Only or prevalently Italian	Only or prevalently Dialect	Either Italian or dialect	Another Language	Only or prevalently Italian	Only or prevalently Dialect	Either Italian or dialect	Another Language	Only or prevalently Italian	Only or prevalently dialect	Either Italian or dialect	Another Language
1987/88	41.5	32.0	24.9	0.6	44.6	26.6	27.1	0.5	64.1	13.9	20.3	0.4
1995	44.4	23.8	28.3	1.5	47.1	16.7	32.1	1.2	71.4	6.9	18.5	0.8
2000	44.1	19.1	32.9	3.0	48.0	16.0	32.7	2.4	72.7	6.8	18.6	0.8
2006	45.5	16.0	32.5	5.1	48.9	13.2	32.8	3.9	72.8	5.4	19.0	1.5

Another important finding of the ISTAT study involves the mixed use of Italian and dialect: not only does this practice constitute a significant means of communication in Italy, but it is actually slightly on the rise in all three domains of use. De Renzo (2008) explains that this increase is indicative of a shift in the role of dialect in the last twenty years: "*il dialetto non è più solo un codice alternativo, bensì una risorsa linguistica che affianca l'italiano* (dialect is no longer only an alternative code, rather a linguistic resource that flanks Italian) (p. 55). The data therefore support Berruto's overall assessment of the Italian-dialect relationship in Italy: while Italian is increasingly encroaching on domains of use once held exclusively by dialect, dialect is holding its own against Italian in terms of everyday conversation.

Although the notion of *dilalìa* explains the Italian language situation at the national level, Berruto (1989) concedes that Trumper's (1977, 1984, 1989) revision of the Fergusonian diglossia is better able to account for the differences of language usage between the regions (p. 14). According to Trumper (1984), Italy's regions exhibit two types of diglossia: "macro- or true diglossia" and "micro- or pseudo-diglossia" (p. 36). Among the key features of a macro-diglossia are the following: both codes are used in a large number of domains; the codes overlap frequently in functionally ambiguous contexts; and mixed utterances characterize everyday interaction (Ibid.). Conversely, in a micro-diglossia one code is employed in very few domains, there is a clear functional separation between the codes, and mixed utterances do not occur in everyday conversation (Ibid).

The regional data from the 2006 ISTAT study appear to support Trumper's model. As Table 2 indicates, there is a marked difference between the linguistic practices of most Northern and Southern regions. In the Northern region of Piedmont, for example, the use of Italian is clearly favored in all three domains of

Table 2. Persons 6 years of age and older according to the language habitually used in diverse relational contexts by region. Years 2000, 2006 *(per 100 persons with the same characteristics)* (ISTAT, 2007, p. 5)

Regions	In the Family				With Friends				With Strangers			
	Only or prevalently Italian	Only or prevalently Dialect	Either Italian or dialect	Another language	Only or prevalently Italian	Only or prevalently dialect	Either Italian or dialect	Another Language	Only or prevalently Italian	Only or prevalently dialect	Either Italian or dialect	Another language
						2000						
Piedmont	58.6	11.4	27.3	2.2	64.7	7.6	25.6	1.6	85.8	2.2	11.3	0.3
Val d'Aosta	55.5	12.6	24.4	7.1	61.3	4.8	28.5	4.9	84.1	1.1	9.8	4.5
Lombardy	58.3	10.7	27.9	2.0	62.8	10.0	24.4	1.6	86.7	2.3	8.8	0.7
Trentino-Alto A.	24.3	23.1	15.3	36.4	25.5	21.3	16.8	35.7	42.8	6.3	17.4	32.6
- Bolzano - Bozen	*21.1*	*1.8*	*5.7*	*70.0*	*22.1*	*0.7*	*5.8*	*70.0*	*24.7*	*0.6*	*6.9*	*66.4*
- Trento	*27.4*	*43.6*	*24.6*	*4.1*	*28.7*	*41.1*	*27.4*	*2.5*	*60.3*	*11.8*	*27.6*	*0.1*
Veneto	22.6	42.6	29.8	3.9	23.7	38.2	34.4	2.7	52.4	14.2	32.0	0.2
Friuli-Venezia G.	34.3	16.6	24.5	24.0	33.3	13.5	34.8	18.0	63.1	5.9	29.8	0.5
Liguria	67.5	12.4	17.9	1.4	70.9	7.1	20.3	0.9	87.6	1.7	9.4	0.4
Emilia-Romagna	56.6	14.2	26.7	1.8	60.9	11.2	26.3	1.1	84.8	3.0	11.6	0.3
Tuscany	83.0	4.1	10.1	2.2	84.7	3.6	9.4	1.5	89.1	2.6	6.6	0.8
Umbria	50.8	13.0	34.9	0.8	52.7	11.9	34.2	0.6	67.9	8.6	22.7	0.1
Marche	37.7	18.1	42.2	1.0	41.2	16.0	41.7	0.2	67.5	9.3	22.4	-
Lazio	58.9	8.1	29.8	1.8	61.8	6.9	28.4	1.1	81.1	2.6	14.1	0.3
Abruzzo	29.4	22.9	45.7	1.3	35.3	19.0	44.2	0.7	71.3	7.8	19.9	0.1
Molise	29.0	27.3	36.0	7.4	32.4	21.2	39.3	6.7	75.8	8.9	14.6	0.4
Campania	21.5	30.5	46.7	0.5	26.5	26.2	46.0	0.3	53.6	15.4	30.1	-
Puglia	31.6	17.7	49.8	0.4	36.9	13.6	48.6	0.4	71.0	5.6	22.3	0.2
Basilicata	28.8	25.9	42.1	2.5	33.4	23.5	40.1	2.2	68.3	8.7	22.1	0.1
Calabria	17.8	40.4	39.4	0.9	22.4	30.8	44.4	0.8	60.7	13.1	24.4	0.1
Sicily	23.8	32.8	42.5	0.2	28.4	26.6	44.2	0.2	57.1	12.7	29.4	-
Sardinia	46.4	0.9	38.1	13.9	49.0	0.7	37.6	11.7	75.8	3.2	19.6	0.2
Italy	**44.1**	**19.1**	**32.9**	**3.0**	**48.0**	**16.0**	**32.7**	**2.4**	**72.7**	**6.8**	**18.6**	**0.8**
						2006						
Piedmont	59.3	9.8	25.4	4.9	64.7	5.6	25.4	3.5	86.4	1.4	10.7	0.7
Val d'Aosta	53.9	9.3	24.5	11.3	55.9	4.1	32.2	6.0	80.8	0.4	15.0	2.4
Lombardy	57.6	9.1	26.6	5.7	62.7	7.1	25.0	4.1	83.5	1.9	12.9	0.8
Trentino-Alto A.	27.8	20.4	15.1	34.6	30.2	18.2	16.5	33.1	51.9	3.3	12.7	29.8
- Bolzano - Bozen	*25.2*	*1.5*	*4.1*	*65.5*	*25.8*	*1.3*	*5.0*	*64.3*	*29.9*	*0.2*	*5.5*	*60.3*
- Trento	*30.4*	*38.5*	*25.6*	*5.0*	*34.4*	*34.3*	*27.5*	*3.3*	*73.0*	*6.3*	*19.6*	*0.7*
Veneto	23.6	38.9	31.0	6.0	24.2	37.3	33.3	4.3	53.7	15.7	28.7	1.3
Friuli-Venezia G.	35.8	10.7	20.9	30.9	33.9	9.6	27.4	27.5	57.4	2.6	26.8	11.3
Liguria	68.5	8.3	17.6	5.2	70.8	6.0	19.6	2.5	87.1	2.5	8.7	1.1
Emilia-Romagna	55.0	10.5	28.3	5.5	60.2	7.9	27.4	3.8	84.1	1.9	12.6	0.7
Tuscany	83.9	2.8	8.8	4.0	86.0	2.3	8.0	3.1	91.3	1.1	5.8	1.3
Umbria	41.0	14.9	37.7	5.4	42.5	13.6	39.6	3.1	61.7	7.6	27.8	1.7
Marche	38.0	13.9	42.2	5.6	41.3	13.0	41.8	3.5	68.5	5.4	25.0	0.5
Lazio	60.7	6.6	28.4	3.1	63.0	6.9	27.1	1.9	82.8	3.1	12.0	0.9
Abruzzo	37.1	20.7	38.3	2.6	40.8	16.8	39.5	1.7	71.6	6.9	18.0	1.2
Molise	31.6	24.2	42.3	1.1	35.8	19.1	42.8	1.4	68.6	6.8	23.4	0.3
Campania	25.5	24.1	48.1	1.1	29.4	19.7	48.4	0.9	54.7	10.0	33.3	0.3
Puglia	33.0	17.3	47.9	0.9	35.6	14.5	48.4	0.7	70.9	5.7	22.4	0.2
Basilicata	27.4	29.8	41.2	0.9	33.6	23.0	42.3	0.5	67.4	10.2	21.4	0.3
Calabria	20.4	31.3	43.1	1.5	26.4	22.9	46.1	0.6	60.6	9.7	25.4	0.3
Sicily	26.2	25.5	46.2	1.2	30.5	19.1	48.7	0.8	59.1	9.8	29.7	0.4
Sardinia	52.5	1.9	29.3	14.7	51.8	1.8	30.6	14.3	77.1	0.5	16.0	4.7
Italy	**45.5**	**16.0**	**32.5**	**5.1**	**48.9**	**13.2**	**32.8**	**3.9**	**72.8**	**5.4**	**19.0**	**1.5**

use, while in the Southern region of Sicily the results are somewhat mixed. For example, Sicilians use Italian and dialect in equal measures in the home (26.2% and 25.5%, respectively) but prefer Italian when speaking to strangers. Another striking

difference between the regions concerns the use of mixed utterances. Only about one quarter of Piedmontese speakers routinely employ both Italian and dialect when conversing with family and friends, but almost half of all Sicilians do so. The 2006 figures, particularly when compared with those of 2000, therefore seem to conform to Trumper's distinction between macro-diglossia and micro-diglossia: specifically, Piedmont seems to be moving toward a state of micro-diglossia, while Sicily more closely resembles a macro-diglossia, as some scholars have suggested (Mioni, 1979, p. 109; Alfonzetti, 1990, p. 181). Despite these regional disparities, however, the fact that both Italian and dialect are both employed in daily life reinforces Berruto's view of linguistic unification as an ongoing process in which the various regions of Italy are at different stages of language shift.

2.2.2 Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Use

Although a speaker's region of origin is a major indicator of Italian-dialect use in Italy, the 2006 ISTAT data show that language usage also varies significantly in accordance with age, gender, level of education and occupation. One of the major results of the study is that "*l'uso prevalente dell'italiano decresce con l'aumentare dell'età in tutti i contesti relazionali* (the prevalent use of Italian decreases with an increase in age in all of the relational contexts)" and "*l'uso esclusivo del dialetto cresce con l'aumentare dell'età* (the exclusive use of dialect increases with an increase in age)" (ISTAT, 2007, p. 2). This finding is to be expected given that the older generations, due to the peculiar linguistic history of Italy, have typically had less exposure to the Italian language. Not surprisingly, then, age is also a factor in the linguistic practices of men and women. Women are more likely to speak Italian and less likely to use mixed utterances in all three of the domains of use than men, but this difference applies mainly to young people (Ibid.). According to Lepschy

(2002), one reason for the differing language practices of women and men is that "women speak more frequently with children—a context in which dialect is often avoided" (p. 42). These gender-based differences begin to diminish among the older generations and then disappear altogether among the elderly (Ibid.).

As with the findings for age and gender, the findings for education and occupation are fairly predictable. ISTAT (2007) reports that "*la scelta del linguaggio è ovviamente influenzata del livello di istruzione* (the choice of language is obviously influenced by the level of education)" (p. 3). Those with lower levels of education, i.e., a high school diploma or less, use dialect and mixed utterances more frequently with family, friends and strangers than do those with higher levels of education (ISTAT, pp. 3-4). The study also finds significant social differences in the use of language. University students are the most likely to employ Italian in all three of the domains of use (ISTAT, p. 5). Within the family, for example, 60.3% of students speak Italian as compared with 50.5% of the employed, 34.1% of housewives and 33.3% of retired persons (Ibid.). In terms of occupational usage, Italian is employed much more frequently among white collar workers than among blue collar workers in all three domains of use. For instance, 63.8% of managers, entrepreneurs and the self-employed use Italian at home, while only 35.2% of manual laborers and apprentices do so (ISTAT, pp. 5-6). Among blue collar workers, however, there is also a notable usage of other languages, particularly with family (12.4%) and friends (9.8%), due to the increasing presence of immigrant labor in Italy (ISTAT, p. 6).

It should be noted that studies of linguistic habits and preferences are often problematic, particularly when speakers are aware that their language usage is the focus of study. Oftentimes, speakers will either report what they believe the interviewer wants to hear or use language which they believe presents them in an

ideal fashion. A word of caution is therefore in order with respect to the above findings by ISTAT, since the use of dialect, and particularly in formal situations such as an interview, has traditionally been viewed as negative in Italy.

2.2.3 Language Attitudes

The above figures are not only reflective of contemporary language practices with respect to Italian and dialect, but also of conventional linguistic attitudes. Generally speaking, Italians view the dialects as the languages of identity and familiarity, and their frequent usage among family and friends is therefore indicative of "*il ruolo tradizionalmente attribuito al dialetto, quale codice più appropriato alla sfera degli usi espressivi e emotivi del linguaggio* (the role traditionally attributed to dialect, as the most appropriate code in the realm of the expressive and emotive uses of language)" (Alfonzetti, 1992, pp. 138-139). Because of their association with the private sphere and also with the uneducated lower-classes, not to mention the anti-dialect campaigns of the educational system and the Fascist regime, the dialects have "*scarso o nullo prestigio* (scarce or no prestige)" (Berruto, 1987, p. 72). As a result, a social stigma has customarily been attached to the use of dialect in the public sphere. Sobrero and Miglietta (2006) claim, however, that "*il dialetto ha cominciato a perdere la sua connotazione negativa per assumere delle valenze relativamente neutre rispetto all'italiano* (dialect has begun to lose its negative connotation and is taking on relatively neutral values with respect to Italian)" (p. 155). In fact, Alfonzetti (1990) reports that in Sicily "in the great majority of cases Italian and dialect seem to reach a sort of sociolinguistic neutrality, being endowed with an almost interchangeable social role" (p. 182). This quasi-neutrality between the two codes accounts at least in part for the tendency of some bilingual speakers to use dialect with strangers.

The propensity of bilingual speakers to employ Italian with strangers, on the other hand, may result from the long-held perception of the standard as the language of formality. This view stems not only from the association of the standard with the Italian government and classical literary texts, but also from the custom of speaking Italian in academic, civic and professional situations (Grassi *et al.*, 2003, p. 183). The standard is therefore often characterized by Italians as somewhat contrived and impassive. According to Berruto (1989), surveys of the Italian population indicate that even the standard accent is considered to be "unnatural, cold, and somewhat distant" (p. 15). Volkart-Rey, in his 1990 study of language attitudes in Italy, found a certain ambivalence toward the standard pronunciation, with judgments ranging from "'*corretta' ('ma un po' incolore')* ('correct' ['but rather bland']) " and "'*gradevole'* ('pleasant')" to "'*troppo artefatta'* ('too artificial')", "'*non è sgradevole ma non è bella'* ('it's not unpleasant but it's not beautiful')" and, most notably, "'*non mi piace per motivi ideologici'* ('I don't like it for ideological reasons')" (p. 112). These rather unfavorable attitudes toward the standard, as well as the economic pre-eminence of the Northern regions, explain the significant loss of status that has been incurred by the Tuscan (i.e., Florentine) variety of Italian. Today this variety maintains only a "*prestigio residuale* (residual prestige)" because of its association with the academic realm (Sobrero and Miglietta, 2006, p. 84).

As the Tuscan example suggests, the varieties of regional standard, like the dialects which influenced them, have unequal status in contemporary Italy (Sobrero, 1990, p. 62). In fact, studies indicate that while the use of Italian and dialect may be neutral and even preferred in specific social situations, certain varieties enjoy greater prestige than others. In her survey of attitudes toward the pronunciation of five regional varieties, Galli de' Paratesi (1984) finds that the Roman variety, which was

once vaunted by Fascists and Neorealist filmmakers alike, is considered "*buffo* (silly)", "*divertente* (funny)" and "*spiritoso* (witty)" by Milanese and even Romans due to stereotyping in Italian television programs (p. 163). The Southern varieties, which have traditionally been the subject of scorn due to the persistence of the "*pregiudizio anti-meridionale* (anti-Southern prejudice)" (Ibid.), continue to have the least prestige. In fact, Baroni (1983: p. 106) and Volkart-Rey (1990: pp. 76-77) find that all Italians, including Southerners themselves, tend to associate Southern accents with uneducated, unlikeable and even delinquent individuals. Moreover, Southerners describe their variety as "'*bruttissima'* ('extremely ugly')" and "'*molto volgare'* ('very common')" in comparison to that of the standard (Volkart-Rey, p. 73). The fall of the Tuscan and Roman varieties, as well as the historical disregard for the varieties of the South, have led rather predictably to the idealization of the Northern varieties. In fact, the variety most Italians now consider to be closest to that of an ideal standard in terms of pronunciation is that of Milan, owing both to the financial predominance of the region of Lombardy (Sobrero and Miglietta, 2006, p. 84) and to the influence of the Italian public service broadcaster Radiotelevisione italiana (RAI), which is located in Milan (Galli de' Paratesi, p. 201).

2.3 The Elite and the Contemporary Language Situation

It is hardly surprising, given the history of the elite hegemony over the Italian language, that the rise of the regional varieties of standard and the subsequent restandardization of the language have caused considerable controversy in Italy. In fact, Berruto (2004a) reports that "*non mancano le preoccupazioni di linguisti, letterati, intellettuali, ecc. di fronte ai rivolgimenti in atto nell'italiano* (there is no shortage of concerns on the part of linguists, scholars, intellectuals, etc. in the face of the changes in action in Italian)" (p. 99). Although there have historically been

"*giudizi negativi espressi contro le varietà regionali* (negative judgments expressed against the regional varieties)" (De Mauro, 1963, p. 127), what intellectuals now find especially worrisome is the evolution of the neo-standard because it represents "*un avvicinamento fra scritto e parlato* (an approaching between written and spoken)"; namely, it is characterized by the incorporation of features of spoken language, which have traditionally been considered sub-standard by the traditional literary canon, into the written norm (Berruto, 2004a, p. 55). Of special concern is the increasing usage of slang, jargon, popular elements and foreignisms, particularly Anglicisms. The linguistic pressure exerted by these features in addition to that already exercised by the dialects has elicited "*giudizi critici o allarmanti sulla sorte della lingua* (critical or alarmist judgments about the fate of the language)" (Berruto, 2004a, p. 99), including fears that Italian is becoming a "*lingua coloniale* (colonial language)" (Folena as cited in Todisco, 1984, p. 49) and even a "*lingua selvaggia* (savage language)" (Beccaria, 1985, p. 6).

Berruto (2004a) argues that the concerns of the Italian elite are "*assai più una questione di cultura che non di lingua* (much more a question of culture than of language)" (p. 99). To be sure, the above-expressed concerns are reflective of the traditionally "*conservatrice* (conservative)" and prescriptivist leanings of the Italian intellectuals with respect to the language (De Mauro, 1963, p. 128). They are also indicative, however, of the continuing presence of the *questione della lingua* in contemporary Italian society. As Marazzini (1999) explains, although the Italian language question officially ended with the governmental imposition of the standard in 1868, "*la questione della 'norma', che sta alla base della 'questione della lingua', può rinascere e riapparire in forme assolutamente inaspettate* (the question of the 'norm', which lies at the base of the '*questione della lingua*', can be reborn and

reappear in absolutely unexpected forms)" (p. 15). And, as I shall illustrate in the following chapter, the Camilleri case is precisely such a situation.

Chapter 3: The Camilleri Phenomenon

3.1 Andrea Camilleri and the *Questione della lingua*

There is perhaps no author in contemporary Italian literature for whom the question of the linguistic 'norm' is more pertinent than Andrea Camilleri. Born on September 6, 1925 in Porto Empedocle, Agrigento, Sicily, Camilleri enjoyed a long and distinguished career in Italian radio, theater and television prior to trying his hand at literature in the 1960's. Like many distinguished Sicilian authors who have come before him—Giovanni Verga, Luigi Capuana, Luigi Pirandello and Leonardo Sciascia, to name only a few—he avoids the exclusive use of the literary standard in his writing. Instead, Camilleri employs a unique blend of Italian and Sicilian that he describes as "*un italiano bastardo* (a bastard Italian)" (as cited in Palombelli, 2001), a derogatory label which is indicative of his own awareness that the union of standard Italian and dialect is still considered by many, including, perhaps, the author himself, to be an illicit one. It bears noting that this 'illegitimate' language is not only a major reason for Camilleri's phenomenal success with Italian readers (La Fauci, 2003, p. 334; Manai, 2008, p. 9), but also for the considerable amount of controversy his work has generated among Italian intellectuals.

In this section, I discuss Camilleri's rejection of standard Italian and his method of blending Sicilian and dialect in his writing. I then examine the many forms and varieties of Italian and Sicilian used by the author to depict the contemporary speech community in Sicily. Special attention is paid to the various types of authentic and inauthentic linguistic elements that typify Camilleri's unique literary

language. Although he is known for routinely employing numerous Italian dialects and foreign languages in his work, these are outside the scope of my research.

3.1.1 Rejection of the Literary Standard

In his now famous essay "*Mani Avanti* (Hands Forward)", Camilleri (1998a) declares that standard Italian is "*più che desueto, obsoleto, oramai rifiutato non solo dalla lingua di tutti i giorni, ma anche da quella colta, alta* (more than out-of-date, obsolete, now refused not only by everyday language, but also by cultured, high language)" (p. 142). To support this assertion, he explains that when he attempted to write his first novel, *Il Corso delle cose (The Way Things Go)* (1967), in the standard, he made the following discovery:

> *Mi feci presto persuaso, dopo qualche tentativo di scrittura, che le parole che adoperavo non mi appartenevano interamente. Me ne servivo, questo sì, ma erano le stesse che trovavo pronte per redigere una domanda in carta bollata o un biglietto d'auguri. Quando cercavo una frase o una parola che più si avvicinava a quello che avevo in mente di scrivere immediatamente invece la trovavo nel mio dialetto o meglio nel <<parlato>> quotidiano di casa mia*
>
> (I soon realized, after a few attempts at writing, that the words I was employing did not entirely belong to me. I made use of them, this yes, but they were the same that I found ready to draft a formal application or a greeting card. When I was searching for a phrase or a word that was closer to what I had in mind to write, immediately I would find it instead in my dialect or rather in the daily "talk" of my home) (Camilleri, 1998a, p. 141).

Camilleri's comments about Italian are significant for two main reasons. First, by referring to it as "obsolete", he makes clear that more than a century after its imposition on the nation the standard is for all intents and purposes a dead language that is inadequate for the everyday communicative needs of Italians. The point he wants to stress, however, is that the standard, a language shaped by Italy's authors for centuries, is no longer even appropriate for use in literature.

3.1.2 Mixing Dialect and Language: The Concept Sentiment Dichotomy

As a result of his dissatisfaction with the standard, Camilleri elected to write in the combination of Italian and Sicilian that he spoke with his family as a young man in Porto Empedocle (Demontis, 2001, p. 18). Borrowing from a distinction made by Pirandello, who was also from Agrigento, Camilleri describes this language as

> *quell'impasto piccolo borghese (solo i prìncipi parlano un siciliano puro) di italiano e lingua madre che sapesse esprimere nello stesso tempo concetti e sentimenti*
> (that lower middle-class mixture [only princes speak a pure Sicilian] of Italian and mother tongue that was able to express concepts and sentiments at the same time) (Capecchi, 2000, p. 85).

To clarify, Camilleri characterizes the local speech habits of the Agrigento area in terms of a class-based, language-dialect pattern of code-mixing, in which Italian articulates the content or main idea of an utterance while dialect conveys its emotional aspect. Significantly, Camilleri employs this concept-sentiment dichotomy not only in the speech of his characters, but also in his own narration, a stylistic technique that sets him apart from the vast majority of Italian authors who have

used dialect in their writing. In fact, Camilleri himself has claimed that it is a mistake to view him as an "*autore dialettale* (dialect author)", as his language is actually Italian (Camilleri as cited in Palombelli, 2001).

Although Camilleri bases his literary language on the local speech practices of his childhood hometown, it mirrors the contemporary Italian linguistic situation in many respects. Not only does his concept-sentiment dichotomy correspond to traditional perceptions of Italian and dialect as the languages of formality and expressivity, respectively, it also appears to reflect current patterns of Italian-dialect usage. De Renzo (2008) reports that the extension of Italian throughout Italy has produced an increase during the past twenty years in the "*uso misto, contemporaneo, di italiano e dialetto* (mixed, simultaneous use of Italian and dialect)" that is characterized not only by code-switching, but also by "*un ampio ricorso al code-mixing* (an ample recourse to code-mixing)" (p. 55). According to the 2007 ISTAT report, the use of "*sia italiano che dialetto* (both Italian and dialect)" in everyday conversation in Sicily is much higher than the national average: Sicilians employ both codes approximately one half of the time (p. 5), while Italians use both codes only one-third of the time (p. 1). In her 1992 study of code-switching in Sicily, Alfonzetti describes the overall pattern of switching in terms similar to Camilleri's concept-sentiment dichotomy; namely, she claims that the Italian-dialect relationship is "*stilistico-espressivo* (stylistic-expressive)" in nature, with Italian denoting the "*cognitiva e referenziale* (cognitive and referential)" spheres of language usage and dialect the "*usi espressivi e emotivi* (expressive and affective uses)" (pp. 138-139). In general, she finds that this switching pattern is indicative of a "double cultural identity" among members of the Sicilian speech community (Alfonzetti, 1990, p. 182), a fact which seems borne out by Camilleri's terse

declaration during a 1999 interview, "*Francamente, mi secca molto sentirmi definire 'scrittore siciliano.' Sono scrittore italiano nato in Sicilia* (Frankly, it bothers me a lot to hear myself defined as a 'Sicilian writer.' I am an Italian writer who was born in Sicily)" (Demontis, 1999, para. 2).

3.1.3 Sociolinguistic Aspects of Characters and Language Habits

Camilleri's use of authentic language and linguistic practices extends beyond the code-mixing of Italian and Sicilian. In both his historical and contemporary fiction, his use of language seems to showcase the linguistic options available within the Italian speech community with respect to age, sex, level of education (as reflected by social class), occupation and place of origin. In the Commissario Montalbano series, for instance, the elderly often speak exclusively in Sicilian, children use standard Italian, and women of all ages tend to exhibit a more convincing command of Italian than men. In terms of social class, the uneducated working-class typically speaks popular Italian, the educated middle-class speaks regional Italian and the educated upper-class speaks standard Italian. Interestingly, Camilleri places himself as narrator within the same linguistic context as the middle-class, although his occasional use of standard Italian elements sets him slightly apart from these characters. Not surprisingly, those who work for the Italian State and the Catholic Church employ an exaggerated and often comically ridiculous bureaucratic Italian. Foreigners speak either the language of their native country or broken Italian, while Italians from regions other than Sicily, who are treated quite humorously as foreigners, speak either their regional dialect or standard Italian.

3.1.4 Artistic Italian

Despite the author's apparent fondness for authentic varieties and forms of language, it is important to note that not all of the language in his texts represents

genuine contemporary speech. With respect to his use of Italian, Camilleri introduces his own artistic variety, which he calls "*talìano* (Talian)" (p. 25), in the 1996 novel *Il cane di terracotta (The Terra Cotta Dog).* Talian is perhaps best described as the amusing combination of Sicilian, popular Italian and bureaucratic Italian spoken by the character Agatino Catarella, an uneducated switchboard operator at the fictitious Vigàta Police Station. Catarella's Talian typically consists of various dialectal features and exhibits issues of pronunciation, orthography and grammar characteristic of popular Italian as well as the pompous and redundant lexicon that typifies the bureaucratic variety. In the following example, the words "*pirsona* (Sic. *pirsuna*; Ital. *persona*; Eng. person)" and "*dottori* (Sic. *dutturi*; Ital. *dottore*; Eng. doctor)" are intended to exemplify the result of contact between dialect and Italian, which is a prominent feature of popular Italian, while the redundancies are obvious: "*È dovi doviva andare. Dovi la pirsona pirsonalmente abìta. Dissi al postino di portarla a casa sò di lei, signor dottori.* (It's where it was supposed to go. Where the person personally lives. I told the postman to bring it to your own house, Chief, Sir.)" (Camilleri, 1996, p. 57). The purpose of this variety, as the above example suggests, is that of highlighting both the comical and the absurd aspects of popular and bureaucratic language in Italy.

3.1.5 Authentic Sicilian and Creative Hybridization

As with the Italian, Camilleri also takes artistic license with the Sicilian in his texts. Although most of the dialect is that of his hometown or region, the author explains on his website that his dialect often derives from two additional sources:

> *La lingua che uso nei miei libri non è la trascrizione del dialetto siciliano. È una reinvenzione del dialetto ed è il recupero di una certa quantità di*

> *parole contadine, che si sono perse nel tempo.* ***Cataminarisi*** *("muoversi"), per esempio, non viene adoperata nel linguaggio piccolo borghese che era il nostro: era linguaggio contadino*
>
> (The language that I use in my books is not the transcription of the Sicilian dialect. It is a reinvention of the dialect and it is the reclamation of a certain quantity of peasant words that have been lost in time. **Cataminarisi** ["to move about"], for example, is not employed in the lower middle-class language that was ours: it was peasant language) (http://www.andreacamilleri.net/camilleri/linguaggio.html).

The obsolete "peasant words" that Camilleri refers to above are presumably those of the Sicilian farmers who entertained him as a young man with stories of bandits following World War II (Capecchi, 2000, p. 85). The "reinvented" dialect, on the other hand, consists of the author's own hybrid forms of Sicilian and Italian, which he claims are "*inventate per assonanza* (invented for assonance)" (cited in Palombelli, 2001). These hybridizations appear to mimic the process of Italianization, i.e., a naturally occurring phenomenon by which dialect terms assume standard or even regional Italian features (Berruto, 1989, p. 17).

To create these hybrid forms, Camilleri (1998b) adds Italian morphemes to Sicilian lexical items. For instance, he often alters the masculine singular of Sicilian nouns by changing the final *–u* ending to the Italian *–o*, as exemplified by *foco* (Sic. *focu*; It. *fuoco*; Eng. fire) (p. 50). In addition, he pluralizes Sicilian feminine nouns in the Italian *–e* instead of the customary *–i*: "*nottate* (Sic. *nottati*; It. *nottate*; Eng. nights)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 115). Camilleri (1998b) also changes the form of Sicilian verbs by using the Italian *–e* ending as opposed to the Sicilian *–i*, producing lexical

items such as "*arrisbigliare* (Sic. *arrisbigliari*; It. *svegliare*; Eng. to awaken)" (p. 113). Occasionally, however, he will alter a vowel or consonant within the word, as with *pinsàta* (Sic. *pinzata*; It. *pensata*; Eng. thought, idea) (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 50). As a result of these changes, the hybrid term appears more familiar to the Italian reader and, depending upon the similarity of the original Sicilian and Italian terms, may also become more comprehensible.

3.2 "The Camilleri Case": Reactions to the Author and His Language

Although Camilleri's rendering of Sicily has been whole-heartedly embraced by his adoring fans, it has been an intensely debated topic among literary critics and, to a lesser extent, scholars since the late 1990's. There are two main issues in the debate: the first concerns Camilleri's use of stereotypes to portray contemporary Sicily, and the second involves his liberal use of the Sicilian dialect both in his narration and in the speech of his characters. Because the focus of the present dissertation is on Camilleri's literary language, I have excluded that portion of the debate which concerns the author's depiction of Sicily (e.g., the storylines, landscapes, etc.) from my analysis. Instead, in the paragraphs that follow, I focus on the varying reactions of the public, the critics and the scholars to Camilleri's representation of Sicilian linguistic practices, and how academics have situated these reactions within the context of the *questione della lingua*.

3.2.1 The Fans

The public reaction to Camilleri's literature and, in particular, to his language, has been nothing short of astonishing. For his fans he is "*il Sommo* (The Supreme One)", and their reception of his work has been coined "*il fenomeno Camilleri* (the Camilleri phenomenon)" by Mondadori (Vizmuller-Zocco, 2002, para. 4). Although Camilleri's literary career began with the publication of *Il corso delle cose (The Way*

Things Go) in 1978, he did not achieve literary success until 1994 at the age of sixty-nine when he debuted the character of Commissario Salvo Montalbano in his sixth novel, *La forma dell'acqua (The Shape of Water)*. What has ensued is unprecedented in the Italian literary world: a seemingly endless string of instant best-sellers, including seven books in the top ten in 1998; a series of fifteen highly successful television movies featuring Commissario Montalbano (two of which, "Par condicio [Equal Treatment]" and "Tocco d'artista [The Artist's Touch]", are based on short stories from *Un mese con Montalbano [A Month with Montalbano]*); audio recordings of the author reading his work; dictionaries of his Sicilian or "Vigatese"; travel books highlighting "*la Sicilia di Camilleri* (Camilleri's Sicily)"; interactive CD-Roms of the Montalbano mysteries; and the impressive "Camilleri Fans Club" website which meticulously documents the author's career. Like J. K. Rowling of Harry Potter fame, Camilleri has even been the victim of book counterfeiting, and there is a persistent rumor that his publisher has the final novel in the Montalbano series locked away in a secret vault (Ferlita, 2006). To date, Camilleri has published more than fifty works of historical fiction and mystery, which have sold well over ten million copies in Italy alone, and there are over one hundred twenty translations of his novels, making him "*uno degli autori più letti nel mondo* (one of the most widely-read authors in the world)" (Palumbo, 2005, p. 12). Most impressively, perhaps, Camilleri's literary success has been recognized by his hometown, which has officially changed its name to Porto Empedocle-Vigàta, and by the Italian government, which has bestowed upon him the title of "Grande Ufficiale (Great Officer)" (Manai, 2008, p. 9).

In the absence of personal interviews with Camilleri's fans, it is difficult to surmise the reasons behind their overwhelmingly positive reception of the author. While the book sales and television movie deals clearly indicate that the character of

Montalbano is the main factor behind Camilleri's popularity, Manai (2008) asserts that it is the author's use of "*un miscuglio raffinato di italiano regionale siciliano e di italiano nazionale che senz'altro è uno degli elementi di più forte richiamo e dei motivi dell'affetto del pubblico* (a refined mixture of Sicilian regional Italian and national Italian that is without a doubt one of the strongest elements of the appeal and of the reasons for the affection of the public)" (p. 9). He explains that Camilleri's "*fortemente sicilianizzata* (strongly Sicilianized)" Italian language is attractive to the public because it indirectly addresses the "*questione dell'identità* (identity question)" that still lies at the heart of the national Italian psyche more than a century and a half after unification (Ibid.). In his view, by working to popularize both linguistic and cultural elements of Sicily in his writing, Camilleri encourages the acceptance and the inclusion of all Italian regions in the fabric of the national identity (Manai, p. 1).

For La Fauci (2003), both the attraction of Camilleri's language and the popular sentiment it inspires can be more directly traced to the *questione della lingua* (p. 333). He contends that the author's mixed use of dialect and Italian is reminiscent of a "*forma linguistica* (linguistic form)" that was spoken in the Italian peninsula prior to the imposition of the standard (La Fauci, 2003, p. 334). Because Italy never had a single "*norma* (mother tongue)," La Fauci (2003) calls this pre-unification "form" a "*lingua nonna* (grandmother tongue)", a label suggestive of its plurilingual aspect, not to mention the grandfatherly appeal of the eighty-four year-old Camilleri (Ibid.). It must be noted, however, that La Fauci is not arguing that Camilleri's language is in any way old-fashioned—quite the contrary. He is making the claim that both the author's blended language and its enormous public appeal illustrate that "*ancora nel Duemila, l'italiano è una lingua lieve* (still in the year 2000, Italian is a slight language)" which is unable to fully withstand pressure from the

dialects (La Fauci, 2003, p. 331). Indeed, La Fauci (2003) declares that Camilleri's language "*è un manifesto dell'italiano di oggi* (is a manifesto of the Italian of today)" and, as such, is a force for scholars to reckon with (p. 331).

3.2.2 The Camilleri Language Debate: Critics vs. Supporters

In contrast to Camilleri's fans, the critics have been ambivalent about his language. Both his detractors and his supporters tend to focus on the presence of the Sicilian dialect in the texts, rather than its broader role as a component of regional Italian. Among his detractors, there has been a general sense of disdainful confusion about the author's mixed use of Italian and Sicilian. The author Ruggero Guarini (1999), for instance, remarks that Camilleri's language consists of

> *un correttissimo italiano basico che il Camilleri, per certe sue insondabili ragioni, ritiene doveroso insaporire conficcandovi qui e là qualche vocabolo siciliano. Ignoto è il principio che governa lo sparpagliamento di questi termini sulla superficie della pagina*
>
> (an extremely correct, basic Italian that Camilleri, for certain unfathomable reasons of his, retains only right to season by sticking the odd Sicilian term here and there. Unknown is the principle that governs the scattering of these terms on the surface of the page).

Others, such as Collura (1998) and Onofri (1995), have been somewhat less tactful in their descriptions of his language, calling it a "*folcloristico* (folkloristic)" type of Sicilian and "*una lingua mescidata, e sprofondata talvolta nel ventre del dialetto* (a blended language, and at times cast down into the belly of dialect)" (p. 239), respectively. The general view of his critics, however, is perhaps best synthesized by

Cotroneo (1998) who summarily dismisses Camilleri's literary language, contending that "*non è un linguaggio rivoluzionario, reinventato, non è il lombardo di Gadda, non è neppure il siciliano denso e sofisticato di Vincenzo Consolo. È una lingua che si fa leggere* (it's not a revolutionary, reinvented language, it's not the Lombard of Gadda, it's not even the dense and sophisticated Sicilian of Vincenzo Consolo. It's a language that makes itself read)."

Camilleri's supporters defend his use of mixed language, arguing that it is a valid method with which to represent his vision of Sicily and Sicilians. Author Stefano Malatesta (1997) defends Camilleri's language on the grounds that it is a necessary artistic device with which to localize his stories about Sicily: "*In Camilleri l'impasto siculo-italiano non serve solo a verniciare le storie di colore locale. È l'unico modo per rendere la saggezza e la scaltrezza contadine. . .* (In Camilleri the Siculo-Italian mixture does not serve merely to paint the stories with local color. It is the only way to depict rural wisdom and cunning. . .)". Linguist Franco Lo Piparo contends, on the other hand, that Camilleri's decision to incorporate Sicilian into his work reflects the authentic linguistic preferences of cultured Italians, who increasingly employ dialect in their everyday speech, and therefore constitutes a "*scelta colta* (cultured choice)" (as cited in Di Caro, 1997). In this respect, according to Italian journalist Stefano Salis (1997), Camilleri's use of the Sicilian language is "*non solo funzionale al racconto ma capace di fornire uno schema interpretativo* (not only functional to the story but capable of furnishing an interpretive scheme)" through which to understand the culture of the island (*Una lingua per vedere il mondo* section, para. 8).

Although Camilleri has said little in defense of his literary language, he has offered a general explanation for the debate as a whole. In a 2000 interview with Marcello Sorgi, he asserts that "*in Italia, uno che fa sorridere è uno scrittore non*

impegnato e, di conseguenza, non valido (in Italy, one who makes you smile is not a committed author and, as a consequence, is invalid)" in the eyes of the intellectual elite (pp. 148-149). Vizmuller-Zocco (2001) also blames "*la visione elitaria degli operatori culturali italiani* (the elitist view of the Italian cultural operators)" for the Camilleri debate, explaining that the Italian intellectuals attribute the use of the mystery genre as well as high book sales as indicative of "*un autore solo popolare, di poca profondità contenutistica e di poca innovatività dell'espressione* (an author who is merely popular, of little depth with respect to content and of little innovation with respect to expression)" (*Il secondo test* section, para. 1). Like Vizumuller-Zocco, Sociologist Goffredo Fofi (2003) stresses the role of book sales in the debate, claiming that Camilleri has been the victim of the "*snobismo* (snobbism)" and "*invidia* (envy)" of those in the publishing industry. From the outset, however, Giovanardi (1998) has insisted that the real issue behind the Camilleri debate lies in the ongoing language question in Italy and the resultant struggle to determine what or who will control the future development of the Italian language and culture: the market-driven economy or the traditional cultural elite.

3.2.3 The Scholars

Despite the tremendous amount of attention Camilleri's language has received from the critics, it has received remarkably little from scholars. What is perhaps more surprising is that many of the scholars who have studied the author's language have, like his critics, made assertions without attempting to substantiate them. In her 2002 essay, Vizmuller-Zocco expresses her frustration with this situation, lamenting that "*le fonti attendibili che si occupano di questo scrittore sono poche* (the credible sources who concern themselves with this author are few in number)" (para. 4). She further declares that "*la mancanza di analisi disinteressate*

la dice molto di più sulla cultura imperante italiana che non sull'autore (the lack of disinterested analyses says much more about the prevailing Italian culture than about the author)" (Ibid.). In her view, the above-mentioned elitism of Italy's celebrated literary critics, rather than the quality of Camilleri's work, is primarily to blame for the paucity of scholarly literature about the author (Ibid.). She also suggests, however, that Italian dialectologists are partially responsible, because their unwillingness to consider the literary use of dialect in the context of other linguistic varieties as a valid subject of inquiry has rendered this field of study "*un'orfana accademica* (an academic orphan)" (Vizmuller-Zocco, 2002, para. 1-3).

3.2.3.1 Linguistic Analyses of Camilleri's Language

Among those scholars who examine specific linguistic features of Camilleri's language, the majority shift the focus from his use of Sicilian to that of his Italian. Scholars seem to agree that Camilleri's language is essentially comprised of Italian with lexical elements from the Sicilian dialect. Lo Piparo (as cited in Di Caro, 1997), for example, states that "*Camilleri […] compie un'operazione di tipo lessicale, non di sintassi. Nei suoi romanzi ci sono dei termini dialettali ma l'impianto resta italiano* (Camilleri […] carries out an operation of a lexical nature, not of syntax. In his novels there are some dialectal terms but the foundation is Italian)". Pistelli (2003) largely agrees with this assessment, but adds that Camilleri occasionally employs "*alcune veniali concessione vernacolari, come l'uso del passato remoto o la collocazione del verbo al termine della frase* (some venial vernacular concessions, like the use of the remote past tense or the placement of the verb at the end of the sentence)" (p. 22). Citing Camilleri's own description of his language, Pistelli concludes that the overall result is an "'*italiano bastardo* (bastard Italian)'" that is "*mescidato, in continuo bilico tra un siciliano puro, fantastico, italianizzato e un linguaggio nazionale colto,*

burocratico, standardizzato (mixed, in a state of continual equilibrium between a pure, fantastic, Italianized Sicilian and a cultured, bureaucratic, standardized Italian language)" (p. 23).

Vizmuller-Zocco's view of Camilleri's language differs notably from that of Pistelli, especially with respect to the Italian. She argues that the "*la base linguistica di tutti i romanzi di Camilleri è l'italiano neostandard* (the linguistic base of all Camilleri's novels is neostandard Italian)" and not the standard (Vizmuller-Zocco, 2001, *Il sesto test* section, para. 1). In terms of the author's use of Sicilian, she explains that it is incorporated into the Italian in three ways, all of which occur in the speech of contemporary Sicilians: code-switching, code-mixing and hybridization (Vizmuller-Zocco, 2004, pp. 87-88). She is careful to stress, however, that Camilleri's hybridizations are not characteristic of authentic speech:

> *L'italianizzazione avviene chiaramente usando morfemi italiani attaccati alle basi siciliane, ma queste basi sono quelle che l'autore sceglie, non quelle che uno si aspetterebbe in un discorso mistilingue*
>
> The Italianization clearly occurs using Italian morphemes attached to Sicilian bases, but these bases are those that the author chooses, not those that one would expect in a mixed-language discourse (Vizmuller-Zocco, 2002, *Varietà mista* section, para. 2).

On the basis of these artistic hybridizations, Vizmuller-Zocco (2002) concludes that "*Camilleri non fa usare ai personaggi italiano regionale di Sicilia* (Camilleri does not have his characters use the regional Italian of Sicily)" (Ibid.).

In contrast to Vizmuller-Zocco, Lupo (2004), La Fauci (2003; 2004) and

Manai (2008) describe Camilleri's language as an artistic rendering of the regional Italian of Sicily. Lupo (2004) contends that "*si tratta infatti non già di dialetto, ma della reinterpretazione di un italiano regionale con fortissimo inserti dettati dall'invenzione fantastica* (it is, in fact, not a question of dialect, but of the reinterpretation of a regional Italian with extremely strong insertions dictated by the imagination);" however, he does not define the features of this language (p. 21). In a similar fashion, La Fauci (2004) maintains that the author's language "*non è un generico dialetto siciliano, ma l'italiano regionale di Sicilia: dal punto di vista sociolinguistico, una varietà borghese, utilizzata soprattutto nella communicazione familiare e tra pari* (is not a generic Sicilian dialect, but the regional Italian of Sicily: from the sociolinguistic point of view, a middle-class variety, utilized above all in familial communication and among equals)" (p. 165). Although he shares Vizmuller-Zocco's evaluation of the nature of Camilleri's hybridizations, his primary focus is not on the "*famigerati elementi dialettali* (notorious dialectal elements)" in the author's work but rather on the ways in which Camilleri mixes "*stilemi tipici di una lingua alta e letteraria* (stylemes typical of a high and literary language)" with his regional Italian (La Fauci, 2003, pp. 338-339). In his opinion, Camilleri uses these stylemes to create "*un impianto letterario tradizionale, l'impianto della lingua italiana perenne* (a traditional literary foundation, the foundation of the perennial Italian language)" (La Fauci, 2003, p. 340). Manai (2008) appears to agree with La Fauci, describing Camilleri's language quite simply as "*un miscuglio raffinato di italiano regionale siciliano e di italiano nazionale* (a refined mixture of Sicilian regional Italian and of national Italian)" (p. 9).

3.2.3.2 Theoretical Analyses of Camilleri's Language

As with the scholarly characterizations of Camilleri's language, there seems to

be some consensus forming with respect to the author's motivations for using Sicilian Italian in his writing. Demontis (2001: p. 10), Andrighetti (2007: p. 8) and Manai (2008: pp. 9-10) locate Camilleri's language in the *questione della lingua*, arguing that his mixture of Sicilian and Italian is reminiscent of that of nineteenth-century Verist authors who used Italian dialect and regional elements in their writing to resist the hegemonic influence of the dominant culture following the *Risorgimento*. For these authors, the State imposition of Florentine represented a rejection of the contribution of other cultures in the formation of a national language and, as such, a threat to the democratic forces that had existed in the country prior to unification (Demontis, 2001, p. 10). Consequently, they viewed the standard as a

> *lingua di Stato, quasi una prescrizione burocratica, espressione di una medietà, se non di una mediocrità, borghese, che tendeva a declassare il dialetto per favorire l'assimilazione a una cultura 'centralista', per promuovere l'approssimazione al toscano letterario, cioè alla linea che si è dimostrata vincente*
>
> (language of the State, almost a bureaucratic prescription, expression of a middle-class averageness, if not of a mediocrity, that tended to declass dialect in order to favor assimilation to a 'centralist' culture in order to promote approximation to literary Tuscan, that is, to the line that had demonstrated itself the winner) (Demontis, 2001, pp. 10-11).

The objective of these authors was therefore that of "*trovare una soluzione 'popolare' all'annosa questione della lingua* (finding a 'popular' solution to the age-old language question)," by incorporating spoken features of language into the written

norm (Beccaria, 1975, p. 10). The use of non-standard language in their writing thus often assumed a polemic stance by affirming a linguistic and cultural identity in danger of disappearing, and realized "*un processo centrifugo, di resistenza e di repulsione all'unità* (a centrifugal process, of resistance and repulsion to unity)" (Dionisotti, 1967, p. 91).

Other scholars have suggested that Camilleri's mixed language represents what would have been the ideal solution to the *questione della lingua*. In her essay on Camilleri's blending of Italian, Sicilian and Spanish in *Il re di Girgenti* (The King of Girgenti), Vizmuller-Zocco (2004) concludes that the author mixes the three languages equally in order to create "*una identità linguistica storicamente possibile ma mai prima espressa* (a linguistic identity [that was] historically possible but never before expressed)" (p. 95). Palumbo (2005) seconds Vizmuller-Zocco's conclusion, but broadens its scope considerably by arguing that Camilleri's main goal is

> *Sperimentare linguisticamente il verificarsi di una condizione storica – che non è stata, ma avrebbe potuto essere – di fusione egualitaria tra popoli e culture. Nella sua Sicilia, per esempio, e paradigmaticamente, in ogni parte del mondo. Non più culture dominanti, ma abbracci di culture: questo magicamente propone la lingua de* Il re di Girgenti*, ma anche quella dell'epopea di Montalbano, che, spagnolo a parte, è costruita nello stesso modo*
>
> (To experiment linguistically in order to verify an historic condition—that wasn't, but could have been—of egalitarian fusion of peoples and cultures. In his Sicily, for example, and paradigmatically, in every part of the world. No more dominant cultures, but the embracing of cultures: this is what the

> language of *Il re di Girgenti* magically proposes, but also that of the Montalbano epic which, Spanish aside, is constructed in the same manner) (p. 109).

From this standpoint, Camilleri's blended language depicts, "*centocinquant'anni circa dai fatti, l'ipotesi di un'unità d'Italia vincente* (approximately one hundred fifty years from the fact, the hypothesis of a winning unification of Italy)" by representing a modern-day version of an egalitarian mixture of the various languages of Italy (Palumbo, p. 122).

By grounding Camilleri's language in the *questione della lingua*, the above scholars emphasize the political nature of the author's writing. Although it may seem paradoxical, Camilleri, by promoting the Sicilian language and culture in an era of increasing globalization, is actually advocating for the preservation and acceptance of diversity (De Montis, 2001; Palumbo, p. 123; Manai, 2008, p. 10). His representation of Sicily, which has traditionally been portrayed in literature as a metaphor for the Italian social question (Sciascia as cited in Padovani, 1994, p. 60; Lupo, 2004, p. 22), therefore becomes both a metaphor and "*una filosofia* (a philosophy)" for the world today (Palumbo, 2005, p. 123). To put it another way, the author's use of both Sicilian and Italian within the context of present-day Sicily represents a call for resistance, embodied in the character of Inspector Salvo Montalbano, to a new form of standardization: the processes of linguistic and cultural homogenization at work in the current global era.

3.3 Conclusions about Camilleri's Language

In the present dissertation, I concur with the view expressed by La Fauci (2003, p. 338; 2004, p. 165), Lupo (2004, p. 21) and Manai (2008, p. 9) that

Camilleri's literary language is best-described as an artistic representation of the regional Italian of Sicily. The author's use of a base language of Italian mixed with authentic Sicilian and Italianized-Sicilian elements broadly conforms to Berruto's (2004a) definition of regional Italian as a geographically-differentiated variety of the neostandard (p. 21), while the standard Italian elements and invented hybridisms, i.e. phonological adaptations of dialect terms, in Camilleri's texts clearly serve as artistic devices.

3.4 The Need for a Sociolinguistic Analysis of Camilleri's Regional Italian

In order to gain a better understanding of Camilleri and his work, scholars must have a clear understanding of his use of regional language. Unfortunately, as my brief review of the literature about Camilleri's language illustrates, there have been no scholarly analyses of the specific features of regional Italian in his writing. In order to address this oversight, I will utilize Sgroi's (1990) model to examine the regional components of the author's language. Because it is generally agreed that Camilleri's blending of Sicilian and Italian occurs primarily at the level of the lexicon (Lo Piparo as cited in Di Caro, 1997; Pistelli, 2003), I will investigate the specific lexical items utilized by Camilleri to regionalize his language. Finally, I will identify various sociolinguistic aspects of these regionalisms, including the age and educational level of the speakers as well as the specific contexts of their use. First, however, I provide an overview of the literature of regional Italian with specific emphasis on its lexical features both in Italy and in Sicily in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Regional Italian and the Regional Italian of Sicily

4.1 Problems in Defining Regional Italian

Linguists date the appearance of *italiano regionale* (regional Italian) as a distinct variety to the period between the two world wars (De Mauro, 1963, p. 124; Foresti, 1976, p. 288; Alfieri, 1996, p. 506). There is general agreement among scholars, however, that spoken Italian has always been regional in nature because it derives from the imposition of the literary standard on the various dialect-speaking populations of Italy. In fact, Cortelazzo (1969) explains that regional Italian results from a process "*di acquisizione della lingua attraverso un adattamento alle condizioni del proprio dialetto* (of acquisition of the language through an adaptation of the conditions of one's dialect)" (p. 193). Regional Italian is therefore generally defined as "*italiano geograficamente vario* (geographically varied Italian)" which exhibits "*la persistenza di una miriade di caratteri locali che restano non toccati dalla tendenza all'unificazione linguistica* (the persistence of a myriad of local characteristics that remain untouched by the tendency toward linguistic unification)" (Poggi Salani, 1982, pp. 115-116). These local, or regional, characteristics typically encompass all aspects of language, including intonation, phonology, morphology, syntax and the lexicon.

Despite the fact that scholars concur on the basic definition of regional Italian, there is "*meno accordo*" (less agreement)" about its specific features and parameters, with the result that regional Italian is often erroneously "*chiamato italiano popolare e italiano comune (molti preferiscono di parlare di italiano standard)*

(called popular Italian and common Italian [many prefer to speak of standard Italian])" (Poggi Salani, 1982, p. 118). Cortelazzo (1990) sums up the source of confusion about this variety, explaining that the label

> *l'italiano regionale resta […] una comoda, quanto semplicistica, etichetta per coprire una svariatissma serie di fenomeni, che toccano fondalmentalmente i rapporti della lingua col dialetto, anzi, con i diversi dialetti, non reagenti tutti in eguale maniera*
>
> (regional Italian remains […] a convenient, as much as simplistic, label to cover an extremely varied series of phenomena, that fundamentally concern the relationships of the language with dialect, rather, with the different dialects, not all reacting in an equal manner) (p. 123).

He adds that the protean nature of regional Italian has even led one linguist to rashly conclude that this variety is "*così difficilmente sperimentabile da scoraggiare ogni tentativo di rilievo documentario* (so difficult to investigate as to discourage any attempt at documentation)" (Folena as cited in Cortelazzo, 1990, pp. 123-124).

The inability to provide a detailed, comprehensive definition of regional Italian has had an adverse effect on scholarly inquiry. Research has been sporadic rather than systematic and basic questions about the nature of this variety remain unanswered. In 1990, Telmon noted two main problems with the definition of regional Italian, and these problems are still present in the research today: the first concerns "*un'incertezza tuttora regnante tra gli specialisti* (a still reigning uncertainty among the specialists)" about the geographical delimitations of this variety; and the second involves the unanswered questions about the specific type and frequency of

features a given manner of speech must exhibit in order to be classified as regional Italian (p. 12).

With respect to defining the geographical borders of regional Italian, there are currently three main approaches. De Mauro (1963) posits a super regional division of the varieties: the "*maggiori* (major)" varieties, which include "*settentrionale* (Northern)", "*toscana* (Tuscan)", "*romana* (Roman)" and "*meridionale* (Southern)"; the "*minori* (minor)" varieties, which consist of "*sarda* (Sardinian)" and "*umbro-marchigiana* (Umbrian-Marchigian)"; and the "*sottovarietà* (subvarieties)", such as Sicilian, which display various distinctive characteristics (p. 138). In a similar fashion, Sobrero (1988) groups the varieties as follows: "*settentrionali* (Northern)"; "*centrali* (Central)"; "*meridionali* (Southern)"; "*meridionali estreme* (extreme Southern)", of which Sicily is one; and "*sarda* (Sardinian)" (p. 733). For Lepschy & Lepschy (1977), however, regional Italian varies in accordance with each of the twenty administrative regions. Canepari (1983) puts forward a comparable division, but he aligns the variation of the regional varieties more closely with that of the major dialect families, which are typically categorized as listed in Figure 2 below:

NORTHERN VARIETIES
Northern Italo-Romance:
i. 'Gallo-Italian' (Piedmont, Lombardy, Liguria, Emilia-Romagna)
ii. Venetan
Ladin
Friulian
CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN VARIETIES
Tuscan (with Corsican)
'Middle Italian' dialects (Marche, Umbria, Lazio)
Upper Southern dialects (Abruzzo, Northern Puglia, Molise, Campania, Basilicata)
Extreme Southern dialects (Salento, Southern Calabria, Sicily)
SARDINIAN

Figure 2. Maiden and Parry's (1997) List of the Gallo-Italic Dialect Families (p.3)

Problems in identifying the geographical boundaries of regional Italian are closely related to the lack of a thorough definition of this variety. Sobrero (1988) maintains that serious questions remain about four broad topics in the field of regional Italian which must be addressed if linguists are to arrive at a satisfactory definition: (1) the number of specific features a given manner of speech must display in order to qualify as regional Italian; (2) the frequency with which these features must be utilized; (3) the precise method in which the geographical borders of a specific regional variety can be determined; and, (4) the particular features of regional speech that are privileged (p. 732). To resolve these issues, he calls for the development of models that can be applied to the study of multiple varieties. In his view, linguists must elaborate "*una tradizione metodologica sufficientemente chiara, tale da permettere la configurazione di veri e propri modelli generali — e flessibili — di descrizione, applicabili a più varietà* (a sufficiently clear methodological tradition, such to permit the configuration of true and proper—and flexible—general models of description, applicable to more varieties)" in order to advance the research in the field (Sobrero, 1990, p. 33). It bears noting that Sobrero (1990) cites the 1979-1980 linguistic model developed by Salvatore Sgroi to analyze data from Tropea's (1976) study of the regional Italian of Sicily as an example of this type of model (Ibid.).

Because the present dissertation applies a 1990 version of the above-mentioned model developed by Sgroi to analyze Andrea Camilleri's literary use of regional Italian lexicon particular to Sicily, the remainder of this chapter examines previous research on lexical regionalisms both with respect to regional Italian in general and, more specifically, to the regional Italian of Sicily. Although studies of lexical regionalisms are relatively few in number, they have enjoyed a privileged status in the research, due primarily to the ease with which the lexicon can be

isolated both in spoken and in written form (Telmon, 1990, p. 14). Lexical regionalisms may broadly be defined as follows:

> *sono regionalismi le parole che provengono dal fondo lessicale del dialetto (o dei dialetti) e, trovandosi in un contesto globalmente italiano, sono adattate al sistema morfo(no)lessicale dell'italiano stesso, quale risulta da analoghe transferenze ai diversi livelli*
>
> regionalisms are the words that derive from the lexical base of the dialect (or of the dialects) and, situated in a globally Italian context, they are adapted to the morpho(no)lexical system of Italian itself, which results from analogous transferences to the various levels (Telmon, pp. 14-15).

Due to the lexical nature of this study, the phonological and syntactic features of regional Italian are not considered. Certain morphological features are introduced, but only to enhance the description of Italian and Sicilian lexicon. Prior to discussing the various methodological approaches to the study of lexical regionalisms within the Italian and Sicilian contexts, I present pioneering research in the field of regional Italian and how it relates to problems encountered by linguists in their attempts to locate regional Italian on a linguistic continuum of the varieties of Italian.

4.2 The First Study of Regional Italian: Rüegg and Lexical Regionalisms

The first study of regional Italian was that of Swiss scholar Robert Rüegg (1956), who conducted a survey of 124 individuals from 54 provinces around Italy to investigate the regional differentiation of Italian lexical items. Rüegg was interested in the usage of geosynonyms which, in the Italian context, are synonyms for standard Italian (i.e., Tuscan) terms that have arisen in a given geographical area

due to the influence of the local dialect. Participants were therefore asked to provide the dominant or exclusive word used to describe 242 common notions associated with 14 domains of usage: "*Familie* (Family)", "*Kinder und Spiele* (Children and Games)", "*Körper und Gesundheit* (Body and Health)", "*Essen* (Food)", "*Kleidung* (Clothing)", "*Wohnung* (Home)", "*Arbeit und Berufe* (Work and Professions)", "*Handel und Geld* (Commerce and Money)", "*Gesellschaft* (Society)", "*Wetter und Zeit* (Weather and Time)", "*Restaurant* (Restaurant)", "*Schule und Kirche* (School and Church)", "*Staat und Heimat* (State and Country)" and "*Stadt und Verkehr* (City and Traffic)" (pp. 84-108).

Rüegg found that regional differentiation was a strong feature of Italian language usage. In fact, the only instance in which all 124 participants provided the same term was in response to the prompt "'*caffè forte* (strong coffee)'" (at the bar), which they described as "*espresso* (espresso)" (Rüegg, 1956, p. 103). The number of different lexical items corresponding to a single notion ranged anywhere from two to thirteen, with more than two terms prevailing in an astonishing 88% of the cases. According to Sobrero and Miglietta (2006), the most striking result of the study was the discovery that 46 of the 242 notions were used in an area of Italy as small as a single province, and were therefore unknown to the Italian population at large (p. 81). Overall, Rüegg's data did more than merely illustrate the merger between the dialects and Italian; it provided compelling evidence to linguists of the continued weakness of the Tuscan variety of Italian almost a century after national unification (Ibid.).

4.3 Locating Regional Italian within an Italian Language Continuum

Rüegg's study had profound ramifications for the research on both regional Italian and on the Italian language situation in general. His findings with respect to

regional Italian prompted linguists to reassess their understanding of the relationship between Italian and dialect. Prior to this study, scholars had treated Italian and dialect as two distinct systems (Sobrero, 1990, p. 29). In light of Rüegg's investigation, however, scholars acknowledged the relationship between these two varieties within the Italian speech community. As a result, Italian and dialect were increasingly viewed as the two endpoints of an Italian linguistic continuum, with regional Italian falling at an undetermined location in the middle (Ibid.). From this point on, linguists turned their attention to the onerous task of identifying and defining the varieties and forms of language located along this continuum and ascertaining the dimensions of their variation. In the process, regional Italian, which had previously been dismissed by scholars as "*una 'non lingua'* (a 'non-language')" because it was judged to be either an "*uso aberrante dell'italiano* (aberrant use of Italian)" or an "*traduzione scorretta del dialetto* (incorrect translation of the dialect)", became elevated in status as a variety in its own right (Cordin, 1987, p. 92). Today, more than half a century after the publication of Rüegg's study, the agreement among scholars about the validity of the notion of the Italian linguistic continuum is "*praticamente unanime* (practically unanimous)" (Telmon, 1990, p. 13). Only two scholars, Stehl (1987) and Telmon (1990), disagree with the notion of overlap between the varieties and propose instead that they are discrete entities and therefore lie on a gradatum (Ibid.).

4.3.1 The Diatopic and Diaphasic Dimensions

Pellegrini (1960) was the first linguist to attempt to locate regional Italian on a linguistic continuum. This landmark study stressed the centrality of regional language in the Italian speech community and thereby promoted this variety as a valid subject of scholarly inquiry. His model of the continuum posits four varieties

which highlight the preeminence of the diatopic (i.e., geographic) dimension of language in Italy:

lingua letteraria (literary language)
italiano regionale (regional Italian)
koinái dialettale (dialectal koiné)
dialetto schietto (pure dialect)

Figure 3. Pellegrini's (1960) Model of the Italian Linguistic Continuum (p. 137)

Pellegrini (1975) also emphasized the diaphasic (i.e., register) dimension of language, asserting that these four varieties may be used by a single speaker, depending on the situational context: "*In molti casi un 'italòfono' […] nel nostro secolo è passato attraverso l'esperienza di 'quattro registri' (o, 'tastiere'), ed è ancora in grado di poterli utilizzare tutti e quattro in determinate circostanze* (In many cases an 'Italophone' […] in our century has passed through the experience of 'four registers' [or, 'keys'], and is still capable of being able to utilize all four of them in specific circumstances)" (p. 37). Despite the weaknesses of the model, such as the implausible view of literary Italian as a spoken language and the simplistic notion of regional Italian as inclusive of the vast array of linguistic phenomena that occur between the two extremes of the continuum, it was endorsed by prominent Italian linguists Migliorini (1963: p. 81) and Cortelazzo (1969: p. 186). According to Sobrero (1990), their support of Pellegrini's model "*sancisce il riconoscimento 'ufficiale' del italiano regionale* (sanctions the 'official' recognition of regional Italian)" as a distinct variety of the Italian language (p. 30).

One of the first linguists to follow Pellegrini's lead in the effort to place regional Italian on a linguistic continuum was Tullio De Mauro. Like Pellegrini, De Mauro (1963) highlights first the diatopic and then the diaphasic dimensions of the

linguistic continuum, asserting that four varieties are available to the individual speaker:

l'italiano comune (common Italian)
l'italiano regionale (regional Italian)
il dialetto italianizzante (Italianized dialect)
il dialetto nelle forme più arcaiche (dialects in the most archaic forms)

Figure 4. De Mauro's (1963) Model of the Italian Linguistic Continuum (p. 124)

He admits, however, that knowledge of both educated Italian and archaic dialect would require "*una spiccata cultura* (a remarkable culture)" that is uncommon among most speakers (Ibid.). De Mauro's model differs from that of Pellegrini in that he posits the existence of "*l'italiano comune* (common Italian)" (Ibid.), a label which is generally understood to encompass those features of the language shared by all speakers of regional Italian (Cordin, 1987, p. 91), instead of a literary standard. His model also reflects the dynamic processes of change within the Italian speech community: namely, the incorporation of Italianized dialectal items into common Italian; and conversely, the incorporation of elements of common Italian into the dialects (De Mauro, 1963, pp. 123-124). While he credits the former process with the regionalization of Italian, he states that the latter is bringing about the structural Italianization of the dialects (p. 124). Although De Mauro (1963), like Pellegrini, depicts a rather simplistic view of regional Italian, he was the first to recognize the "*consolidamento strutturale di varietà regionali di italiano* (structural consolidation of regional varieties of Italian)" (p. 123), a discovery which led to the recognition of regional Italian as a variety (Sobrero, 1990, p. 30). De Mauro's finding was therefore instrumental in the promotion and advancement of research on regional Italian (Ibid.).

4.3.2 The Diastratic Dimension

Of the many models to follow those of Pellegrini (1960) and De Mauro (1963), Mioni's (1979) model remains one of the most important. In the tradition of these linguists, Mioni stresses the diatopic dimension of the Italian language continuum. He is the first, however, to introduce its diastratic (i.e., social) dimension, by presenting the "*repertorio massimo* (maximum repertoire)" of the Italian speech community:

I_1 = *italiano comune* (I_1 = common Italian)
I_2 = *italiano comune regionale* (I_2 = common regional Italian)
I_3 = *italiano regionale* (I_3 = regional Italian)
I_4 = *italiano regionale popolare* (I_4 = popular regional Italian)
D_1 = *dialetto di* koiné *regionali* (D_1 = dialect of regional *koiné*)
D_2 = *dialetto dei centri provinciali* (D_2 = dialect of provincial centers)
D_3 = *dialetto dei centri minori* (D_3 = dialect of minor centers)
D_4 = *dialetto locale* (D_4 = local dialect)

Figure 5. Mioni's (1979) Model of the Italian Linguistic Continuum (p. 111)

Mioni explains that "*da questo repertorio ciascun parlante sceglierebbe secondo le regole sociali della comunità e secondo la sua competenza personale* (from this repertoire each speaker would choose according to the social rules of his community and according to his personal competence)": the upper middle-class would employ I_1 and, in informal situations, D_1, the middle class I_2 and D_2, the working class I_3 and D_3, and peasants I_4 and D_4 (Ibid.). Also in accordance with this paradigm, lower-class speakers often would attempt to utilize language above their level of competence, "*spesso con effetti comici, dovuti a ipercorrettismo o comunque a insicurezza linguistica* (often with comic effects, owed to hypercorrection or at any rate to linguistic insecurity)" (Ibid.). The social aspect of the model adds a critical dimension to the continuum and also contributes to it linguistically by providing a more detailed picture of the language that occurs between the two extremes of Italian and dialect,

rather than using "regional Italian" as a blanket term to describe the varieties of language in this area.

4.3.3 The Diamesic Dimension

Another innovative model of the Italian language continuum was proposed by Trumper and Madalon in 1982 and then expanded by Trumper in 1984. Trumper (1984) underscores the diatopic dimension of variation while calling attention to its diamesic aspect (in this case, written and spoken communication) with its related diaphasic and diastratic qualities in the two-sided model represented in Figure 6.

	X = Written	Y = Oral
A = non-dialect	1. 'Standard' Italian: literary and bureaucratic with stylistic variation 2. 'Substandard' Italian: geographical and stylistic variation; sectorial: journalese, etc. 3. Interfered 'substandard' with strong regional flavour: geographical, social variation	1. Formal 'regional' Italian: used in particular situations with geographical and social variation 2. Informal 'regional' Italian: geographical, social, stylistic variation internally 3. Careless, interfered 'regional': strong geographical and social variability
B = dialect	1. Literary dialect: based on prestige dialect with strong *koiné* tendancies; variation at geographical and stylistic levels	1. dialect *koiné* (tertiary): geographical, social and stylistic variation; shows movement towards Tuscan model 2. urban dialect (secondary): much geographical, social and stylistic variation 3. local *patois* (primary): very many geographical varieties; hardly any shift towards urban models or Tuscan

Figure 6. Trumper's (1984) Model of the Italian Linguistic Continuum (p. 31)

This model is the first to place standard Italian in its proper context of usage—the written realm—while attempting to describe "all the possible 'regional spoken standards' in terms of variability within a *single* grammar of Italian" (Trumper, 1984, p. 32). Although in this model both written and oral language (non-dialect and dialect) varies primarily with respect to geography, variation within each of these

categories is judged by two separate factors: written language is classified according to its level of standardization; and oral language is classified in terms of its level of formality. Trumper's 1984 representation of oral language has been criticized by Berruto (2004a), who argues that this portion of the model places "*eccessiva rilevanza* (excessive relevance)" on the diaphasic aspect of spoken language (p. 17).

4.3.4 Regional Italian and the Architecture of Contemporary Italian

One of the most widely influential models of the Italian language continuum is Berruto's (2004a) "*architettura dell'italiano contemporaneo* (architecture of contemporary Italian)", which is pictured in Figure 7 below.

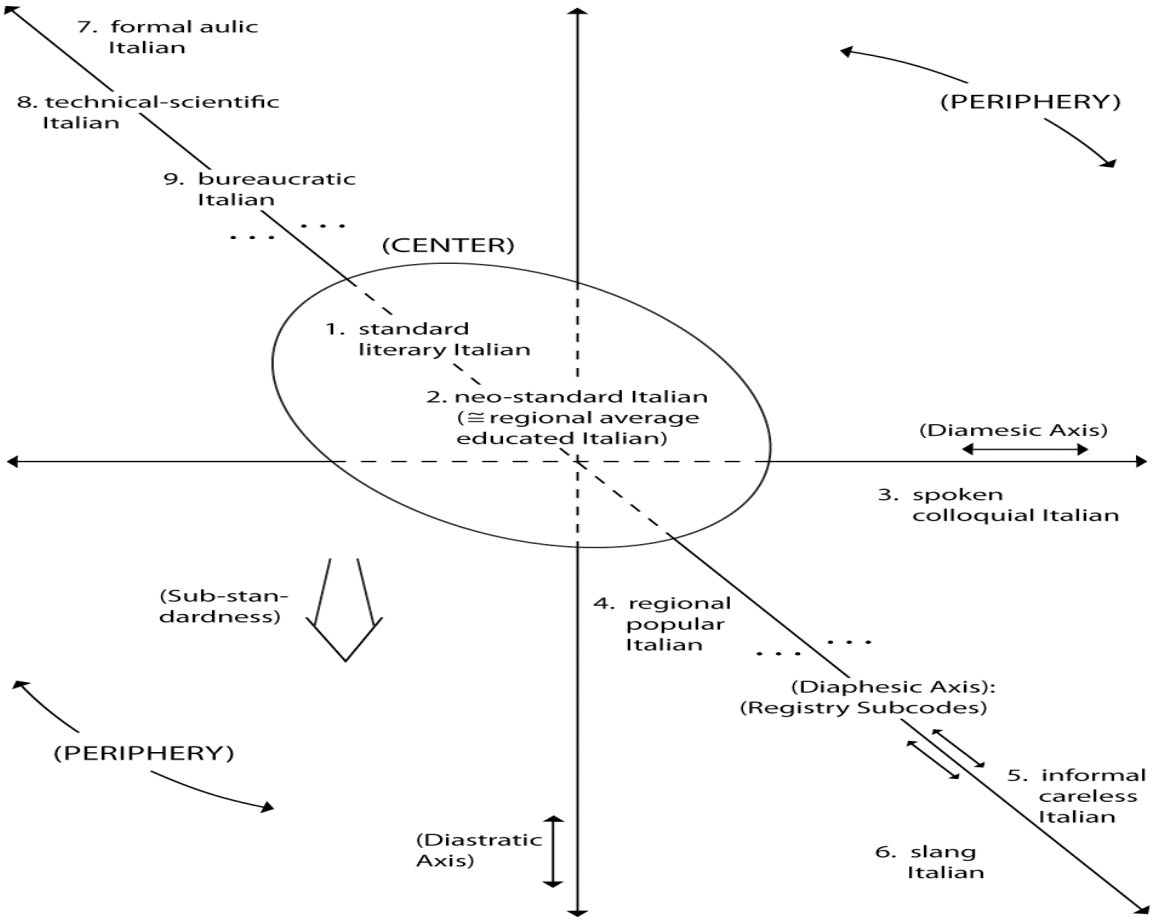

Figure 7. Berruto's (2004a) Model of the Architecture of Contemporary Italian (p. 19)

Berruto (2004a) includes all four dimensions of variation in his model, stressing that "*la differenziazione diatopica debba esser tenuta in conto per prima* (diatopic differentiation must be kept in mind as first)" owing to "*la presenza dell'italiano regionale, o anche, a rigore, dell'italiano regionale standard* (the presence of regional Italian, or even, strictly speaking, of standard regional Italian)" as the social norm in each of Italy's regions (Ibid.). The diatopic dimension is understood to exist as the backdrop to the model, while the diastratic, diaphasic and diamesic dimensions are expressly depicted in the form of three poles. These poles, which intersect to illustrate the overlap of the Italian varieties, are interpreted as follows: the diastratic pole runs vertically from top to bottom and represents "'*alto* (high)'" versus "'*basso* (low)'" social status; the diaphasic pole runs from top left to bottom right and represents "'*formale-formalizzato* (formal-formalized)'" versus "'*informale* (informal)'" usage; and the diamesic pole runs horizontally from left to right and depicts "'*scritto scritto* (written)'" versus "'*parlato parlato* (oral)'" language (Berruto, 2004a, p. 20). The intersection of these poles creates a "*centro* (center)", which embodies the "*unitari, standardizzanti, normativi e normalizzanti* (unitary, standardizing, normative and normalizing)" features of the language, and a "*periferia* (periphery)", which denotes those features that are "*non unitari, denormalizzanti o devianti dalla norma accettata* (non unitary, denormalizing or deviant from the accepted norm)" (Ibid.).

As stated previously, Berruto (2004a) affirms that the social norm in Italy is regional Italian, which is described in the model as "*italiano neo-standard (italiano regionale colto medio)* (neo-standard Italian [regional average educated Italian]) (p. 20). Berruto (2004a) explains that the labels "neo-standard Italian" and "regional average educated Italian" are "*quasi sinonimiche* (almost synonymous)" because

they differ only with respect to geography (p. 23). More specifically, the neo-standard consists of the features of Italian shared by "*parlanti colti (molto colti o mediamente colti)* (educated speakers [very educated or of average education])" (Ibid.) throughout Italy, including the normative elements of the literary standard, as well as a host of elements that have traditionally been viewed as sub-standard, such as colloquialisms and foreignisms (Berruto, 2004a, p. 62). Regional Italian is simply the neo-standard with geographical variation (Berruto, 2004a, p. 23). The duality of the label "neo-standard Italian (regional average educated Italian)" therefore allows the model to function as a snapshot of the varieties of Italian available to the speaker at both the national and regional level.

Berruto's (2004a) use of the term "*neo-standard*", as opposed to the more conventional "*italiano comune* (common Italian)" or even "*italiano comune regionale* (common regional Italian)", reflects the ongoing process of "*ristandardizzazione* (restandardization)" of the Italian language (p. 55). This process is represented in the model: the encircled portion depicts the movement of neo-standard/regional Italian away from the literary standard toward the lower right quadrant, which corresponds to low, informal, spoken language (Berruto, 2004a, p. 22). Despite this shift, neo-standard/regional Italian is not in the epicenter of the model, but rather in the upper left quadrant, which is associated with high, formal and written language. Regional Italian may therefore be seen as lower in status and less formal than the standard, but it is nevertheless a socially high, literary form of language. Berruto (2004a) explains that this assessment of regional Italian stems from "*la peculiare storia della lingua italiana, il cui standard si è tradizionalmente modellato sull'uso scritto, letterario, aulicizzante* (the peculiar history of the Italian language, whose standard has traditionally been modeled on written, literary, courtly use" (p. 22).

In addition to the inclusion of the neo-standard, another striking feature of Berruto's continuum concerns the absence of the traditional dialects. He does not incorporate the dialects into the model because he maintains that owing to the

> fairly large structural distance between standard Italian and the majority of the Italo-Romance dialects, and between the individual Italo-Romance dialects themselves, [...] they must be considered true separate systems rather than mere varieties of the same linguistic system, namely the Italian language (Berruto, 1989, p. 7).

The model may therefore be seen as a return of sorts to the pre-Pellegrini era when Italian and dialect were treated as two distinct systems, with one notable exception: dialect is represented in the model in the form of regional Italian, the many varieties of which are seen as "the true 'dialects of Italian'" (Berruto, 1989, pp. 8-9) because they represent contact between the main dialect of a given region and neo-standard Italian (Berruto, 2004a, pp. 23-24).

4.4 Methodological Approaches to the Study of Regional Italian Lexicon

Generally speaking, the methodological approaches to the study of regional Italian lexicon are reflective of its diatopic, diaphasic, diastratic and diamesic variation within the Italian linguistic continuum. As I discuss in the paragraphs that follow, linguists have focused on geographic variation among one or more regional varieties, different registers of regional Italian, various factors that influence the use of lexical regionalisms, including age, social class, and schooling, and how regional Italian has been incorporated into literary texts. The current state of research in these areas, much like that pertaining to the definition of regional Italian and its

place on the Italian linguistic continuum, is limited at best. One explanation for this dearth of research is that the vast majority of studies conducted on the contemporary Italian linguistic situation focus on the use of dialect rather than regional Italian. And, as mentioned previously, the lack of cohesive models with which to systematically analyze multiple varieties of regional Italian has inhibited the research on this variety. As a result, there is little scholarly consensus on the topics discussed below, such as the role of age and education on the use of regional Italian. The studies presented in this section are therefore merely intended to highlight the major methodological approaches with respect to the study of regional Italian usage, rather than serve as the definitive viewpoint of scholars in the field.

4.4.1 The Classification of Lexical Regionalisms

Coco (1974) was one of the first linguists to respond to calls from Pellegrini for systematic investigations of the impact of dialect on the Italian lexicon at the local level (p. 230). Specifically, he examines the use of lexical regionalisms in the area of Bologna and, like many scholars of the period, follows the methodology established by Rüegg in classifying them according to domains of use. After consulting numerous dictionaries as well as Bolognese informants, Coco determines that dialect has made few inroads in the language associated with industrialization and technology, but has lent its "*carica espressiva* (expressive charge)" to a substantial amount of language pertaining to daily life (p. 236). He finds that the most prolific type of lexical regionalisms in Bologna are those which pertain to "*linguaggio familiare* (familiar language)", such as *bugno* (pimple), which is *bań* in the local dialect and *foruncolo* in standard Italian, and *cordonetto* (shoestring), which is *kurdunát* in dialect and *stringa* in the standard (Coco, pp. 231-232). Coco identifies five additional categories of Bolognese regionalisms: alimentation;

technical and artisanal activities; holidays and traditions; urban and rural terminology; and, children's games (pp. 235-236).

Like Coco (1974), Foresti (1974) considers the domains of use of lexical regionalisms in Bologna, but his main focus is on the etymological origin of these terms. To this end, he examines "*lo svolgimento del processo di italianizzazione* (the unfolding of the process of Italianization)" of the Bolognese dialect (Foresti, 1974, p. 241). Foresti (1974) finds that this process followed "*tre direzioni* (three directions)" (Ibid.): standard lexical items replaced dialectal items of a different etymon, e.g., *kamiʃata* is used in place of *bluʃata*, which is the dialectal equivalent of the standard Italian *camicetta* (blouse) (p. 241); standard lexical items replaced dialectal items of the same etymon, e.g., *rina/sẹr* is used in place of *arna/sẹr*, which is the dialectal form of the standard *rinascere* (to be reborn) (p. 243); and, new lexical items appeared that do not exist in the dialect (p. 241). With respect to the first direction, he determines that these lexical regionalisms include the "*settori semantici* (semantic sectors)" of furnishings and clothing, architecture, alimentation, medicine, and idiomatic expressions (Foresti, 1974, pp. 241-242). Foresti (1974) then lists the ways in which the regionalisms of the second direction evolved from the dialect. He determines that this evolution occurred through changes in the prefix, suffix and nucleus of the word, and through regression to an archaic feature of the dialect, such as the restoration of the atonic syncopated vowel in "*tʃor ~ t**e**ʃór = tesoro* (treasure)" (p. 243). As for the non-dialectal lexemes, he finds in accordance with Coco (1974) that these stem primarily from the development of industry and technology (Foresti, 1974, p. 245).

In 1976, Foresti revisits the use of regional language in Bologna, this time addressing problems related to the differentiation of lexical regionalisms. Borrowing

from Weinreich's (1953) tripartite classification of lexical interference, Foresti (1976) categorizes Bolognese regionalisms into two types: "'*trasferimento di parola* (word transfer)'" (p. 290) and "'*estensione semantica* (semantic extension)" (p. 292). Foresti (1976) defines word transfer as the process by which lexemes are "*immessi dai dialetti negli italiani regionali* (introduced from the dialects into the regional Italians)" (p. 290) and divides it into two subtypes: those terms that refer to local referents and are consequently almost irreplaceable, e.g., "*raviola*", a traditional dessert shaped like a semicircle and filled with marmalade or cream (p. 291); and, terms with a local connotation that the speaker employs consciously or unconsciously, e.g., "*dormia*", the local term for the standard Italian "*sonnifero* (sleeping pill)" (p. 291). Semantic extension, by contrast, refers to Italian terms whose meaning has been extended or even changed due to the influence of dialect, such as "*bagaglio*", which means "baggage" in the standard but is used in Bologna to refer to an "*oggetto o persona di poco conto* (object or person of little value)" (Foresti, 1976, p. 293). After classifying the Bolognese lexical regionalisms, Foresti turns to the issue of whether they can all be properly described as geosynonyms. He concludes that those terms from the dialect which describe a local referent are not geosynonyms because they neither have a standard lexical counterpart nor a secondary meaning outside of Bologna (Foresti, 1976, p. 295). He then discusses the inadequacy of the term geosynonym, noting that it only applies to lexemes used throughout a region, as opposed to a larger or smaller expanse of territory, and fails to encompass the social implications of regional language use (Foresti, 1976, pp. 293-294). Foresti (1976) therefore suggests that scholars of regional Italian establish new classes of synonyms to address these geographic and social shortcomings (p. 296).

In his analysis of Italian geosynonyms, De Felice (1977) also maintains that this term is "*inadeguato* (inadequate)" because it emphasizes the geographic variation of lexical regionalisms but does not capture their socio-cultural contexts of use (p. 109). Unlike Foresti (1976), however, he does not find the term problematic with respect to lexical regionalisms whose use is superregional, i.e., extends beyond the region, or subregional, i.e., confined to an area within the region. In fact, he examines geosynonyms on the basis of "*loro esclusione or inclusione in un lessico proposto come base di informazione o di controllo dell'uso 'nazionale'* (their exclusion or inclusion in a lexicon proposed as a base of information or control of the 'national' use)" (De Felice, p. 110). De Felice determines that there are three classes of geosynonyms: national, regional and dialectal (Ibid.). He then provides a catalogue of thirty-eight pairs or groups of geosynonyms, indicating those that have hegemony at the national level due either to territorial extension or to the influence of literature or culture. For each lexeme, he includes information about its "*sfera d'uso* (sphere of use)", such as geographical parameters, socio-cultural implications, competitiveness and contexts of use (De Felice, p. 111). For example, he states that the Northern "*affittare* (to rent)" predominates nationally over the Tuscan "*appigionare*" and the Southern "*locare*", even though the latter is the term of use in the technical and legal fields (De Felice, p. 112). De Felice concludes with a list of six additional pairs or groups of geosynonyms pertaining to industrial, technical and political concepts that have risen to national prominence due to socioeconomic factors.

The geosynonyms of Italy are an important factor in Petralli's (1990) study of "*italiano regionale ticinese*" (IRT), which is the regional Italian spoken in the Canton Ticino of Switzerland (p. 131). Because this area is populated by Italians whose language originates from the Northern Italian region of Lombardy, Petralli seeks to

ascertain whether hundreds of terms he has collected from Swiss newspapers and magazines as well as previous studies of IRT comprise "*ticinesismi*", i.e., the lexical regionalisms of the Canton Ticino (p. 133). In order to verify their regional status, he must establish whether these terms are used in Lombardy or whether they have geosynonyms there or in other regions of Italy. To this aim, he consults two native Lombards and three dictionaries, all of which provide inconsistent results. In regard to those terms which he successfully identifies as *ticinesismi*, he determines that they have arisen from various "'*forze' linguistiche* (linguistic 'forces')" present in the Canton Ticino, including *lombardo* (the dialect of Lombardy), Helveticisms, French, German, foreignisms, bureaucratic regionalisms, localisms, cultural factors and tourism (Petralli, pp. 136-137). One interesting finding is that many of the lexical regionalisms of the area are created by state bureaucrats and translators, who must render language in a manner that is equally comprehensible to all inhabitants of Switzerland: Italians, French and Germans alike (Petralli, p. 138). For example, the Italian phrase "*lista di argomenti all'ordine del giorno* (list of topics on the agenda)" becomes "*lista delle trattande*" in conformity with the German "*Traktandenliste*" and the French "*liste des tractandes*" (Ibid.). To help isolate the "*peculiarità linguistica* (linguistic peculiarity)" of IRT with respect to the Italians of Italy, Petralli proposes that the *ticinesismi* be divided into four main categories: absolute, formal, semantic and sociolinguistic (Petralli, p. 141).

In his 2008 study of the complex relationship between *romanesco*, the dialect of Rome, and Italian, D'Achille is also concerned with linguistic "*peculiarità* (peculiarities)" of regional language, particularly those "*che rendono alquanto problematica la distinzione tra regionalismi e dialett(al)ismi di matrice romana* (which render rather problematic the boundaries between regionalisms and dialect[al]isms

of Roman origin)" (p. 1). Unlike the above-named linguists, he is not interested in classifying, typifying or ranking "*romaneschismi*" (i.e., lexical regionalisms influenced by *romanesco*), although he does list the means by which they have entered common Italian usage: politics, press, radio, cinema, television, neorealist literature, gangsterism and youth language (D'Achille, pp. 4-5). His main focus, rather, is on why Italian dictionaries often erroneously label *romaneschismi* as standard Italian in origin. D'Achille ascertains that these regionalisms are difficult to identify owing both to the structural similarities of *romanesco* and Italian, which obscure the boundaries between standard Italian, regional Italian and dialect in Rome, and to the resultant lack of a distinctly defined linguistic continuum (he notes that even Pellegrini's quadripartite version is difficult to apply to the Roman context) (pp. 1-2). He therefore lists three methods for use in the proper identification of *romaneschisimi*: consulting older texts written in *romanesco* rather than Italian lexicographical sources to correctly isolate and date such terms; retracing the means by which these regionalisms were spread; and, distinguishing any phonetic, morphosyntactic or semantic features particular to *romanesco* in these terms (D'Achille, pp. 5-6).

4.4.2 The Impact of Sociolinguistic Variables on Regional Italian Use

In addition to focusing on types or features of lexical regionalisms, a few scholars have investigated the relationship between sociolinguistic variables and the use of regional Italian. One such study is that of Alvaro, Carrera, Grollino and Caminiti (1974), who examine the use of dialect and regional Italian by fifteen male speakers to express ten concepts related to the home and family in two large agricultural towns, Cinquefrondi and Rosarno, in the Southern Italian region of Calabria. The speakers were selected on the basis of social class, as reflected by occupation, and level of education (although age is clearly a factor, as well). Despite

the many weaknesses of the study, including the absence of women, the small sample size, and imbalances in the number of participants (five from Cinquefrondi, ten from Rosarno) as well as the age distribution (from 40 to 71 for Cinquefrondi, from 23 to 60 for Rosarno), the results of the study are fairly predictable. Alvaro *et al.* find that in Rosarno, which is larger and more prosperous than Cinquefrondi due to advances in agriculture and the rise of small industry, language is less conservative and there is a "*situazione di maggiore livellamento linguistico* (situation of greater linguistic leveling)" with respect to class, education and age (p. 308). In Cinquefrondi, by contrast, not only is the language use more conservative than that of Rosarno, but the language of the oldest participant (71 years of age) is more conservative than that of the younger participants (who range in age from 40 to 50) (Ibid.). For example, the 71 year-old is the only one who uses the older dialectal term "*ah'h'eri*" for the Italian "*tovagliolo* (napkin)", whereas the other Cinquefrondi participants utilize the less conservative dialect term "*sarvettu*" (Alvaro *et al.*, pp. 309-310). The participants from Rosarno, on the other hand, use either "*sarvettu*" or the local variant "*sarviettu*", or its regional Italian equivalents "*tovagga*" and "*toval'l'olo*" with no noticeable differences in regard to class, education or age (Alvaro *et al.*, pp. 310-311).

Bianconi (1980) examines the connection between age and sociocultural factors and the use of regional Italian in the Canton Ticino of Switzerland. As part of a larger study of the Swiss Italian speech community, he administered a questionnaire concerning regional Italian usage to 758 participants who were divided into three groups based on age: twenty year-olds, forty year-olds; and, sixty year-olds. Within each of the three groups, participants were evenly distributed with respect to age, place of residence (rural or urban), social class and occupation. The

participants were asked to comment on whether 48 sentences containing 27 regionalisms were reflective of their own usage; if not, they were asked to correct the wording accordingly. Although Bianconi finds in an earlier part of the study that women in the Canton Ticino tend to speak Italian and men tend to speak the local variety of the Lombard dialect (pp. 110-111), he does not investigate the role of gender in the use of lexical regionalisms. He determines that the most common users of regional Italian lexicon are "*giovani ventenni, studenti, di classe sociale elevata, domiciliati a Lugano, di lingua materna italiana* (young twenty year-olds, students, from an elevated social class, residing in Lugano, whose maternal language is Italian)" (Bianconi, p. 155). Bianconi also makes three significant findings with respect to the lexicon. First, the usage of some regionalisms is not determined by age or sociocultural factors (Bianconi, p. 166). Second, the usage of two types of lexical regionalisms is strongly correlated with age: the "*forme più libere ed espressive* (more free and expressive forms)", such as "*una sfracca* (It. *un mucchio*; Eng. a lot)", are more likely to be adopted by the twenty year-olds (Bianconi, pp. 151-152), while "*forme del settore burocratico-amministrativo* (forms from the bureaucratic-administrative sector)", such as "*supponenza* (It. *presunzione*; Eng. presumption)", are more likely to be accepted by the sixty year-olds (Bianconi, p. 162). Finally, lexical regionalisms derived from dialect or popular Italian do not correlate with age but rather with lower levels of education (Bianconi, pp. 165-166). Bianconi concludes that the linguistic continuum of the Canton Ticino includes at least three varieties of *italiano regionale ticinese*: a general variety which enjoys a broad diffusion among the various social groups; an educated variety, which represents the standard, that is employed by speakers with a high level of education whose native language is Italian; and a popular variety utilized by speakers with low

to average levels of education whose native language is typically dialect (pp. 188-189).

4.4.3 Other Factors Influencing Regional Italian Use

In addition to the sociolinguistic variables, scholars have also investigated various linguistic, metalinguistic and extralinguistic variables that influence the use of regional Italian. Cordin (1987) considers the pedagogical and linguistic factors that influence the use of the regional Italian of Trento through an analysis of the history of Italian instruction in this province of the Northern region of Trentino Alto-Adige and the phonology, lexicon and syntax of three secretly recorded speech samples. She argues that the instruction of standard Italian, i.e., a written rather than a spoken norm, since 1869 has produced an imbalance between written and oral skills (Cordin, p. 94). The student, who is exposed to "*un'attenta considerazione per la lingua scritta e una scarsa considerazione per la lingua parlata* (a careful consideration of the written language and a lack of consideration for spoken language)" by teachers, fails to acquire proper speech and consequently introduces dialect into the language (Ibid.). In addition to issues of faulty acquisition, Cordin determines that the speaker makes recourse to the regional Italian of Trento due to a desire for greater expressivity. The speech samples, which consist of three architects discussing a project, parents talking to their two young adult children about Christmas, and university students conversing with friends, indicate that the lexicon exhibits the strongest influence from dialect and therefore allows the speaker "*una più o meno consapevole scelta di intensità espressiva* (a more or less conscious choice for expressive intensity)" (Cordin, p. 98). For example, the data show a preponderance of regional Italian verbs that begin with "s", including "*scorlare* (It. *scuotere*; Eng. to shake)" and "*sbecolare* (It. *mangiucchiare*; Eng. to nibble)", in

addition to nouns and adjectives derived from similar such verbs (Cordin, p. 100). Cordin explains that speakers of the regional Italian of Trento use a disproportionately high number of these lexical items both because they are over-represented in the dialect of the Trento and because they have a "*valore derivativo, privativo o intensivo* (derivative, privative or intensive value)" that is not represented by their Italian equivalents (p. 99). She concludes that it is precisely because of their greater capacity for expression that "*le varietà regionali risultino vantaggiose rispetto ad una completa standardizzazione della lingua* (the regional varieties prove to be advantageous with respect to a complete standardization of the language)" (Cordin, p. 108).

Miglietta (2004) focuses on how sociolinguistic, metalinguistic and scholastic factors affect the use of regional Italian in the Salento area of the Southern Italian region of Puglia. She surveys the speech habits of twelve area residents with respect to their use of twenty-two geosynonyms. The variables of gender, age and education are evenly represented among the participants: there are two men and two women in each of three age classes (20-30, 30-40, 50-60); and, one-third of the men and one-third of the women have completed high and low levels of education. Miglietta finds that men are more likely than women to admit to using regional Italian because they are less concerned with presenting "*un'immagine di sé linguisticamente 'pulita'* (a linguistically 'clean' image of themselves)", but notes that age and educational level have little effect on usage (p. 43). The use of this variety is more strongly influenced, she determines, "*dall'intenzionalità del parlante, dalla sua sensibilità metalinguistica, e dalla tolleranza normativa* (by the intentionality of the speaker, by his metalinguistic sensibility, and by normative tolerance) (Ibid.). She claims that the most important factor, however, is "*censura scolastica* (scholastic censorship)": the

speaker, who has been deeply conditioned by the anti-dialectal policies of the Italian educational system, relies on a "*criteriologia 'scolastichese'* ('scholasticese' criteriology)" to ascertain the appropriateness of a regionalism in a communicative context (Miglietta, pp. 46-47). Her data illustrate that this criteriology consists of four main "*diagnosi* (diagnoses)" by which a speaker will reject a particular regionalism:

> 1) the diatopic diagnosis - a regionalism such as "*aggiustare tavola* (*to adjust the table*)" instead of "*apparecchiare la tavola* (to set the table)" originates from another area in Italy;
>
> 2) the semantic diagnosis - a regionalism like "*villa*" means something different in the speaker's hometown, in this case "public park" instead of "house";
>
> 3) the functional diagnosis - a regionalism is appropriate only in terms of a specific function or situation e.g., "*avere la faccia* (lit. to have the face)" in the sense of "*osare* (to dare)" is used only for expressive purposes; and,
>
> 4) the sociolinguistic diagnosis - the regionalism is used only within a particular realm, including rural or urban, public or private, e.g., the expression "*sono sulla villa* (I'm about the park)" instead of "*sono nella villa* (I'm at the park)" is used only in the rural realm (Miglietta, p. 47).

Miglietta asserts that scholars of regional Italian must look beyond the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of its use to metalinguistic and extralinguistic factors, such as the impact of schooling, if they are to make sense of the seeming "'*caoticità'* ('chaoticity')" of any data sampling of this variety (p. 48).

4.4.4 Regional Italian in Literary Texts

Scholars also examine the ways in which literary authors employ regional Italian in their writing. In her 1996 study of the literature of Dino Buzzati (1906-1972), who was born and raised in the Northern Italian region of Veneto but lived his adult life in Milan, Giannetto analyzes the author's use of mixed language in his 1958 collection of short stories entitled *Sessanta racconti* (Sixty Stories). She determines that Buzzati employs regional, popular, colloquial and aulic Italian, as well as jargon and foreignisms in his work. In general, however, she characterizes his language as "*sostanzialmente* standard *nel lessico e nella sintassi, com'è generalmente l'italiano dei milanesi colti, ma venato di regionalismi, ora veneti, ora lombardi o genericamente settentrionali* (substantially *standard* in the lexicon and in the syntax, as is generally the Italian of the educated Milanese, but veined with regionalisms, at times Venetian, at times Lombard or generically Northern)" (Giannetto, p. 195). She notes that Buzzati does not limit the usage of these regional Italians to his characters of low social origin or even to humans: upper middle-class Venetians and even animals employ regional Italian in his stories (Giannetto, p. 196). According to Giannetto, Buzzati routinely utilizes two main types of lexical regionalisms: those the author has intentionally incorporated for "*maggior forza mimetica ed espressiva* (greater mimetic and expressive force)" and those he has casually or unknowingly selected (p. 195). With regard to the former, Giannetto explains that there are two subtypes: lexical regionalisms, such as "*storno* (It. *sbadato*; Eng. scatter-brain)" from Veneto (p. 196) and the geosynonym "*barba*, which is standard Italian for "beard" but is used in place of the standard "*zio* (uncle)" in the North (p. 197); and regionalized Italian constructs that are common in Veneto and are formed, for example, by incorporating the second person singular of the Italian verb "*sapere* (to

know)" as an interrogative form, as in "*Scusa sai* (Excuse me you know)" and "*Grazie, sai? mamma* (Thank you, you know? Mamma)" (p. 199). In terms of those regionalisms that Buzzati has allegedly employed unknowingly, she lists less commonly used standard Italian forms, such as "*piedestallo*" instead of *piedistallo* (pedestal) and "*sopraluogo*" instead of *sopralluogo* (on-the-spot)" (Giannetto, p. 201). She traces the considerable presence of regional Italian in Buzzati's literature to his upper class origins: the highest social classes in Veneto, unlike those in the vast majority of the Italian regions, have a strong tendency to favor the use of dialect and regional language both in speech and in writing (Giannetto, p. 195).

Calamai (1998/1999) looks at the regional language of Tuscany in the literature of author Emilio Agostini (1874-1941). She is expressly concerned with the linguistic differences between two versions of a collection of the author's short stories about his childhood in the Tuscan village of Sassetta: the first edition, entitled *Lumiere di Sabbio (Racconti d'infanzia) (Lamps of Sand [Stories from Childhood])*, was published in Livorno in 1902 with the "Vocabolarietto (Brief Dictionary)", a standard Italian glossary of the dialectal and regional terms which is located in the appendix; and the second edition, retitled *Racconti d'infanzia (Lumiere di Sabbio) (Stories from Childhood [Lamps of Sand])*, was revised by the author for a publisher in Florence in 1912. Calamai explains that the dialectal and regional elements in the 1902 version are primarily lexical, and only rarely phonetic or morphological (p. 59). In the 1912 version, however, she finds that both the lexicon and the lexicography have undergone significant changes (Ibid.). In terms of the lexicon, Agostini has changed many of "*le forme più vernacolari* (the most vernacular forms)" (Calamai, p. 67); for instance, the lexical regionalism "*macchiarelle*" becomes the standard Italian "*piccoli boschi* (small forests)" (Calamai, p. 59) and the phrase "*con babbo* (with

Daddy)" becomes "*con nostro padre* (with our father)" (Calamai, p. 72). The lexicography has been altered in both its form and content: it now appears in footnotes rather than in the appendix and contains a greater number of standard Italian translations of dialectal and regional terms, as well as notes about the etymological origins of certain terms (Calamai, p. 59). Calamai concludes that these changes reflect "*una maggiore italianizzazione dell'opera* (a greater Italianization of the work)*",* theorizing that this is most likely a result of the need to employ the standard both because the publisher was Florentine and because the revised text was destined for a larger Italian audience (Ibid.).

Trovato (2008) analyzes the types of regional language and the motivations for its use in the literature of Sicilian authors Luigi Pirandello (1867-1936), Stefano D'Arrigo (1919-1992), and Vincenzo Consolo (1933-present). Following a brief discussion of the *questione della lingua*, Trovato explains that throughout the centuries Italy's authors have employed dialect and regional language in their writing for historical, realistic, polemic or expressive purposes. He then ascertains that the "*dialettalità o regionalità* (dialectality or regionality)" of Pirandello, D'Arrigo and Consolo "*si gioca sul piano del realismo e dell'espressionismo* (is played on the plane of realism and expressionism)" with mostly lexical elements (Trovato, p. 44). In his analysis of Pirandello's *Novelle per un anno (Short Stories for a Year)* (1922), he finds that the author utilizes sign regionalisms, semantic regionalisms, calques, complex lexemes and proverbs to regionalize his language for both realistic and expressive functions; for example, the use of the semantic regionalism "*giardino* (garden)" to mean "*agrumeto* (citrus orchard)" gives a more realistic Sicilian feel to the text (Trovato, p. 46), while the incorporation of Sicilian Italian proverbs such as "*meglio nero pane che nera fame* (it's better to have black bread than black hunger)"

serve to enhance the expressive quality of the characters' speech (Trovato, p. 47). Unlike Pirandello, D'Arrigo employs dialect and regional lexicon solely as a means of expressionistic experimentalism, particularly through the use of word play and in the creation of hybrid forms and even false lexical items, e.g., the Sicilian verb "*mprusari* (It. *truffare*; Eng. to trick)" inspires the invention of the Sicilian regional Italian verb "*improsare* (to trick)" and corresponding past participle "*improsato* (tricked)", as well as the French past participle "*improsé* (tricked)" (Trovato, p. 49). Consolo also exploits the expressive quality of regional language by utilizing sign regionalisms, semantic regionalisms, calques and specialized lexicon such as that pertaining to sheep-herding, olive cultivation and the like (Trovato, p. 53). Trovato's main contention is that the literature of Italian authors like Pirandello, D'Arrigo and Consolo is unique in the world precisely because they have recourse to dialect and regional language, which in the context of Italy represents the true language and therefore the true expression of the people (p. 55).

4.5 Scholarly Analyses of the Regional Italian of Sicily

There are four major analyses of the Sicilian variety of regional Italian: Tropea (1976); Sgroi (1979-1980); Leone (1982); and Sgroi (1990). As previously noted, the lexical portion of Sgroi's (1990) linguistic model of the regional Italian of Sicily serves as the methodological basis for the present dissertation. Because Sgroi used Tropea (1976), Sgroi (1979-1980) and Leone (1982) to develop his 1990 model, it is necessary to examine the key components of the lexical models of the regional Italian of Sicily as outlined in these.

4.5.1 Tropea (1976) and (1990)

Tropea's (1976) *Italiano di Sicilia* (Italian of Sicily) represents the first comprehensive analysis of a variety of regional Italian (Sobrero, 1990, p. 32). In this

landmark work, Tropea (1976) actually examines "*due varietà di italiano locale* (two varieties of local Italian)", those of Catania and Palermo, which he contends are representative of the linguistic differences between Eastern and Western Sicily, respectively (p. 5). He explains that regional Italian is the product of the literary standard and the local dialects, as the Italians of Catania and Palermo illustrate, and as such represents a mid-point on the Italian linguistic continuum (Tropea, 1976, p. 11). For this reason, he defines these varieties as "*le varianti locali della lingua nazionale nell'uso medio e parlato* (the local variants of the national language in its common and spoken use)", noting that they are often used in informal writing (Ibid.). Precisely because dialect has infiltrated both oral and written forms of expression, Tropea (1976) bases his model of regional Italian on the three major aspects of language usage: phonology, morphosyntax and the lexicon (p. 13).

The lexical portion of Tropea's (1976) model consists of three types of lexical regionalisms and one linguistic practice. In Chapter 3, Tropea (1976) presents two main types of regional lexicon: "*regionalismi lessicali* (lexical regionalisms)", which are "*le voci, le locuzioni e gli usi idiomatici trasferiti di peso, ma comunque con i consueti adattamenti fonetici, dal dialetto alla lingua* (the words, locutions and idiomatic uses transferred intact, but nevertheless with the customary phonetic adaptations, from the dialect to the language)" (p. 50), e.g., the Sicilian Italian "*spratico* (Sic. *spraticu*; Eng. inexperienced)" as opposed to the Italian "*inesperto* (inexperienced)" (p. 69); and, "*regionalismi semantici* (semantic regionalisms)", which consist of "*quei vocaboli della lingua italiana adoperati con accezioni peculiari delle corrispondenti voci dialettali nostrane* (those terms from the Italian language used with peculiar meanings from corresponding local dialect words)" (p. 101), e.g., the standard Italian "*acqua* (water)", which in Sicily is also used to mean "*pioggia*

(rain)" (p. 102). In the following chapter, he discusses hypercorrection, which occurs when less-educated speakers avoid Italian terms that are also present in the local dialect because "*vengono sentiti come erronei* (they are perceived as erroneous)" (Tropea, 1976, p. 126). Curiously, even though atypical regionalisms constitute a type of lexical regionalism, Tropea (1976) does not introduce these until Chapter 5, perhaps because they are not derived from dialect but from other sources (p. 131).

An important feature of Tropea's (1976) lexical model, and one of the main strengths of the work, is the extensive glossary of terms provided at the end of each of the above-mentioned chapters. For each term or expression in the glossary, Tropea (1976) provides a basic Italian translation, the Sicilian term of origin, an explanation or example of its use, and the area of its usage (Catania, Palermo, or both). In the portion of Chapter 3 dedicated to lexical regionalisms, he includes special sections on student jargon and gastronomy. It bears noting that Tropea supplemented the regionalisms presented in the lexical part of his 1976 model with his 1990 article "Nuovo contributo alla conoscenza dell'italiano in Sicilia (New Contribution to the Knowledge of Italian in Sicily)".

Despite its strong suits, Tropea's (1976) model of the regional Italian of Sicily has been criticized on several grounds. Sobrero (1990) points out the dearth of information about Tropea's methodology, the contexts and styles of use of regional Italian, and details pertaining to its geographical diffusion, explaining that these omissions are indicative of the "*difficoltà di operare, in una materia così fluida, classificazioni ed analisi tali da far 'rendere' al massimo i dati raccolti* (the difficulty of producing, in a material so fluid, classifications and analyses so as to render to the maximum the data gathered)" (p. 33). Pellegrini (1977) observes that while the model is essentially sound, it contains a few morphosyntactic and lexical items such

as "*arruffianarsi* (It. *ingraziarsi*; Eng. to ingratiate oneself)" that are used in other parts of Italy and are therefore not specific to Sicily (p. 441).

4.5.2 Sgroi (1979-1980)

Utilizing the interpretive framework posited by Weinreich (1953) in *Languages in Contact*, Sgroi (1979-1980) offers "*una interpretazione dichiaratmente strutturale* (a declaredly structural interpretation)" of Tropea's (1976) model in the essay "Lingue in contatto, italiano regionale e italiano di Sicilia (Languages in contact, regional Italian and Italian of Sicily)" (p. 174). Both Sgroi's (1979-1980) definition of regional Italian and the basic framework of his model are essentially the same as those of Tropea (1976): regional Italian is defined as the product of the interference between the Italian language and local dialect that occurs at the level of phonology, morphosyntax and the lexicon (p. 175).

Sgroi (1979-1980) introduces considerable changes into the lexical portion of Tropea's (1976) model. Noting that Weinreich's (1953) lexical classes, i.e., word transfer and semantic extension, are based on the same criteria as Tropea's (1976) lexical and semantic regionalisms, he suggests "*una terminologia leggermente diversa* (a slightly different terminology)"; namely, he changes the name of lexical regionalisms to "*regionalismi segnici* (sign regionalisms)", and uses the term lexical regionalisms to denote the entire class of regional lexicon (Sgroi, 1979-1980, p. 208). Sgroi (1979-1980) also makes three theoretical alterations to the lexical model: he groups atypical regionalisms with semantic regionalisms; he creates a separate lexical category for "*regionalismi fraseologici* (phraseological regionalisms)" (p. 217); and, citing Weinreich's (1953) observation that a change in the meaning of one term due to contact with a homophone constitutes a "*caso al limite* (borderline case)" between word transfer and semantic extension (p. 208), he notes that sign

and semantic regionalisms can sometimes overlap (p. 217). Finally, Sgroi (1979-1980) adds a new classification of lexical regionalisms: "*adattamento fonologico delle parole affini* (phonological adaptation of similar words)" (p. 219).

The above-described changes to Tropea (1976) elaborated by Sgroi (1979-1980) produce a much stronger model of regional Italian lexicon. Not only are the lexical classifications much more developed, there is also a lengthy glossary of phraseological regionalisms not included in Tropea (1976). Most importantly, Sgroi's (1979-1980) model acknowledges the occasional ambiguity between sign and semantic regionalisms, which is an essential addition to the model because it captures the overlap of the Italian language varieties as depicted by the continuum.

Paradoxically, many of the strengths of Sgroi's (1979-1980) lexical model also comprise its weaknesses. In terms of the theoretical adaptations, it is unclear why Sgroi places atypical and semantic regionalisms in the same category and, conversely, ranks both phraseological regionalisms and phonological adaptations separately. This distinction is particularly confusing in regard to phonological regionalisms, since most sign regionalisms are precisely phonological adaptations of dialect terms. Another, more significant source of confusion in the model concerns the issue of overlap between sign and semantic regionalisms; specifically, Sgroi only mentions this overlap in the section devoted to phraseological regionalisms, which falsely implies, by omission, that it does not occur between those sign and semantic regionalisms consisting of a single lexeme. An additional oversight of the lexical model concerns the absence of the linguistic practice of hypercorrection.

4.5.3 Leone (1982)

Shortly after the publication of Sgroi's (1979-1980) model of Sicilian Italian, Leone (1982) published his comprehensive analysis of this variety entitled *L'Italiano*

regionale in Sicilia: Esperienze di forme locali nella lingua comune (The Regional Italian of Sicily: Experiences with Local Forms in the Common Language). This volume represents the culmination of research begun in 1959 with the publication of "Di alcune caratteristiche dell'italiano di Sicilia (On some characteristics of the Italian of Sicily)", which was, it is important to note, a key source for Tropea's 1976 study. It is therefore not surprising that both Leone's (1982) definition and model of regional Italian are similar to those of Tropea (1976) and Sgroi (1979-1980): he broadly defines this variety as "*la fascia espressiva mediana, contenuta tra lingua e dialetto* (the median expressive register, contained between language and dialect)", and proposes a model based on phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon (p. 8). Unlike the previous models, however, his model stresses two features common to regional Italian: first, it is continually evolving owing to the ongoing contact between Italian and the dialects; and second, as a result of the diminishing usage of the dialects, it too is in danger of disappearing (Leone, 1982, p. 15).

The lexical component of Leone's (1982) model is virtually identical to that of Tropea (1976): it consists of hypercorrection, atypical regionalisms and lexical and semantic regionalisms (Leone, 1982, p. 65). Despite the similarity of the two models, Leone (1982) takes issue with Tropea (1976) in regard to each of these topics. On the subject of hypercorrection, he assumes a more lenient view of this practice than does Tropea (1976), who eschews it as indicative of a "*più basso grado di istruzione* (lower level of instruction)" (p. 126), by contending that the decision to favor an Italian term over a dialect one does not change the intended meaning of an utterance and nevertheless constitutes a choice in favor of the "*patrimonio lessicale della nazione* (lexical patrimony of the nation)" (pp. 58-59). With respect to the regionalisms, Leone (1982) raises concerns about the suitability of Tropea's (1976)

terminology. For instance, he notes the inherent "*contraddizione* (contradiction)" in Tropea's (1976) use of the term "atypical regionalisms" to describe regionalisms that do not appear to derive from dialect, asserting that "*se poi sono atipici (come lo è ogni parola della lingua comune) perdono automaticamente la loro caratteristica regionale* (if then they are atypical [as is every word of the common language] they automatically lose their regional characteristic)" (Leone, 1982, p. 65). Leone (1982) also sides with Sgroi's (1979-1980) decision to modify Tropea's (1976) lexical terminology, acknowledging "*i limiti della classificazione* (the limits of the classification)" due to the occasional instances of overlap that arise between the so-called "lexical" and "semantic" regionalisms (p. 85). Surprisingly, however, Leone incorporates these terms into his model without altering their domain of reference.

In spite of the redundancies of the framework of Leone's (1982) lexical model with respect to that of Tropea (1976), it is invaluable in two main respects. First, Leone (1982) provides a wealth of information about Sicilian lexical regionalisms, including the following: (a) extensive lists of regional lexical items with commentary about their meaning (which often highlights problems with Tropea's [1976] definition or classification of specific lexical terms) and, at times, contexts of use; (b) the results of a survey of the usage of lexical regionalisms among residents of eighteen cities and towns in Sicily; and, (c) information about the stylistics of Sicilian regional language use. Second, Leone's (1982) model supports the perspective put forth in Sgroi (1979-1980) with respect to the overlapping nature of the lexical regionalisms; namely, it is impossible to classify the regional Italian lexicon in terms of discrete categories due to the interactive, evolving character of the linguistic continuum.

A major problem with Leone's (1982) model is that it provides nothing new in terms of the classification of the regional lexicon of Sicily and, more broadly, Italy.

And, precisely because the structure of the lexical model is so similar to that of Tropea (1976), it is vulnerable to the same criticisms of oversimplification and disorganization. Leone (1982) also exposes himself to a further criticism—the same criticism of terminology he levels at Tropea (1976). By adopting the questionable terms "atypical regionalisms" and "lexical regionalisms", rather than attempting to establish more appropriate terminology, Leone (1982) calls into question the validity of both Tropea's (1976) and his own classification of regional terms.

4.5.4 Sgroi (1990)

In direct response to Leone's (1982) model of the regional Italian of Sicily, Sgroi issued a revised version of his own 1979-1980 model of Sicilian Italian in a 1990 paper entitled "Per un analisi strutturale dell'italiano regionale di Sicilia. Un applicazione al *Giorno della Civetta* di Leonardo Sciascia (For a structural analysis of the regional Italian of Sicily: An application to Leonardo Sciascia's *The Day of the Owl*)". Sgroi (1990) explains that he devised his new model with a specific purpose in mind: that of

> *dimostrare l'infondatezza della tesi di chi, come Leone (1982), considera come caratteristica specifica dell'italiano regionale la 'labilità' 'precarietà' 'instabilità' e 'inconsistenza' e giudica 'ozioso' mostrare ulteriormente la complessa fenomenologia dell'italiano regionale di Sicilia*
>
> (demonstrate the unfoundedness of the thesis of those who, like Leone [1982], consider 'transitoriness', 'precariousness', 'instability' and 'inconsistency' as specific characteristics of regional Italian and deem it 'pointless' to show subsequently the complex phenomenology of the regional Italian of Sicily) (p. 282).

To accomplish this objective, Sgroi (1990) uses elements of the models of Weinreich (1953), Tropea (1976) and Sgroi (1979-1980) to create "*un modello d'analisi 'descrittivo' ed esplicativo — anziché puristico e grammaticale di vecchio stampo — in grado di garantire una maggiore oggettività* (a 'descriptive' and explanatory model of analysis—rather than puristic and grammatical in the old style—capable of guaranteeing a greater objectivity)" (pp. 281-282). Because it is applied to Leonardo Sciascia's classic novel from 1960 entitled *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of the Owl)*, Sgroi's (1990) model necessarily privileges "*i livelli lessicale e sintattico, scartando il versante fonetico-fonematico-prosodico* (the lexical and syntactic levels, rejecting the phonetic-phonemic-prosodic versant)" of spoken language (p. 282). The focus of the 1990 model is therefore on the three main categories of usage identified by Sgroi in the text: Sicilian, lexical regionalisms, and morphosyntactic regionalisms.

Sgroi's (1990) model of the regional lexicon of Sicily features seven types, or subcategories, of lexical regionalisms, as presented in Figure 8 below.

regionalismi segnici (sign regionalisms)
regionalismi fraseologici (phraseological regionalisms)
regionalismi semantici (semantic regionalisms)
adattamento fonologico di parole affini (phonological adaptations of similar words)
ipercaratterizzazione (hypercharacterization)
iperfrequenza (hyperfrequency)
regionalismi 'atipici' ('atypical' regionalisms)

Figure 8. Sgroi's (1990) Model of Lexical Regionalisms (p. 287)

Only two of the above subcategories, hypercharacterization and hyperfrequency, do not appear in the 1979-1980 model. According to Sgroi (1990), hypercharacterization is another term for the practice of hypercorrection, i.e., the avoidance of an Italian term due to its similarity to the dialectal counterpart (p. 302).

Conversely, hyperfrequency refers to both the markedly frequent use of one Italian synonym over another and words "*definite dai dizionari della lingua italiana come 'archaiche' o 'rare'* (defined by Italian language dictionaries as 'archaic' or 'rare')" because of their similarity to the corresponding dialectal terms (Sgroi, 1990, p. 303). Another apparent change to the 1990 version of the lexical model concerns the classification of atypical regionalisms, which are no longer grouped with the semantic regionalisms, as in the 1979-1980 version, but instead constitute a separate subcategory.

As the above analysis illustrates, Sgroi's 1990 lexical model is currently the most comprehensive of the models of the regional lexicon of Sicily. It includes all of the classifications of lexical regionalisms proposed by Tropea (1976), Sgroi (1979-1980) and Leone (1982), and adds the linguistic phenomenon of hyperfrequency. The most significant attribute of the 1990 model, however, lies in Sgroi's decision to "*tastare la fecondità di tale approccio su un corpus omogeneo di esempi tratti da un racconto-romanzo di Leonardo Sciascia* (test the fecundity of such an approach on a homogenous corpus of examples taken from a story-novel by Leonardo Sciascia)" (p. 282). The application of the model to Sciascia's novel is important for several reasons. First, by establishing the validity of the seven subcategories of regional Italian lexicon within the context of an authentic literary text, Sgroi extends the range of his 1990 model and of the previous models as well to the written realm of communication. Also, Sgroi's use of the novel allows him to attempt a sociolinguistic analysis of both the direct and indirect discourse of the author and his characters. This type of analysis reinforces the human component of language usage and provides valuable insight into the cultural and social relevance of regional Italian in Italy. Finally, by demonstrating the applicability of the 1990 model to the language

used in Sciascia's text, Sgroi underscores the continued importance of literary models in the development of Italian speech practices.

Despite its substantial methodological strengths, Sgroi's (1990) lexical model also presents considerable problems. First, this "descriptive and explanatory" model was derived from Sgroi's (1990) analysis of *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of the Owl)*, which means that the subcategories were established based only on the types of lexical regionalisms identified in Sciascia's novel (p. 281). When applying the model to another literary text, it is therefore unclear how to deal with findings that are outside the scope of this structural framework. Another significant issue with the model is that, unlike the 1979-1980 version, it separates lexical regionalisms into distinct subcategories and makes no mention of the possibility of cross-listing these items. This notion is in direct conflict with the Italian linguistic continuum, which posits that language cannot be separated into discrete categories. Finally, although Sgroi (1990) asserts that his lexical model "*dovrebbe anche servire ad illustrare le modalità d'uso dei regionalismi da parte di uno scrittore* (should also serve to illustrate the modalities of use of the regionalisms on the part of an author)", it falls short of this objective (p. 282). Because Sgroi provides only the name of the character and the utterance that contains the lexical regionalism in question, he does not actually provide a social profile of the speakers of regional language in the text. As a consequence of this shortcoming, the reader never gains a complete understanding of the sociolinguistic aspects of Sicilian regional Italian usage as depicted by Sciascia.

4.6 Concluding Remarks

As this chapter illustrates, regional Italian is an extremely complex, multi-faceted variety that is deeply rooted in Italy's peculiar linguistic history. The present

dissertation seeks to demystify regional Italian by offering a different approach to the study of lexical regionalisms than the previously-discussed analyses and models; namely, rather than providing a series of snapshots or random aspects of regional lexical usage, I expand upon Sgroi's 1990 model in order to offer a comprehensive picture of the regional Italian lexicon of Sicily in Andrea Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. I therefore resume my discussion of the weaknesses of Sgroi (1990) in the following chapter, describing the ways in which I address the structural and content issues of the model in order to strengthen its validity as a research tool for use in analyzing the regional Italian of Camilleri. Next, I describe my methodology with respect to the application of the model to Camilleri's short stories. Through my own revisions to Sgroi's 1990 model, I intend to show that Camilleri's use of regional Italian lexicon in the Sicilian context offers a wealth of information about the language and culture of Italy and Italians today.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 The Study: Motivations and Research Questions

The present investigation of the regional Italian of Sicily as depicted in Andrea Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* is motivated by several factors. First, because the main scope of this study is that of raising awareness about the actual status of standard language usage in contemporary Italy, it is imperative to conduct a sociolinguistic analysis of a regional variety of standard and its speakers. Furthermore, a lexical focus is warranted due to the nature of regional Italian and the current state of research on this topic: specifically, this variety appears to be primarily a lexical, as opposed to a morphological, phenomenon, and its lexical features, in contrast to the phonological ones, have been largely ignored by linguists. Finally, the decision to utilize the literature of Camilleri in an examination of regional language usage is particularly appropriate given the peculiarity of the Italian linguistic context. Because Italy has traditionally promoted a literary standard as the ideal model of oral and written communication, the tremendous public response, both positive and negative, to Camilleri's artistic rendering of the regional Italian of Sicily makes it an ideal and intriguing subject of study.

Based on the above considerations, I applied the lexical portion of Sgroi's (1990) sociolinguistic model to Camilleri's collection of thirty short stories entitled *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What are the specific types of lexical items that comprise the regional Italian of Sicily in Camilleri's short stories?
2. Who are the speakers of regional Italian in these stories and what are the contexts of use of this variety?
3. What does Camilleri's depiction of regional language and its use in the Sicilian context indicate about contemporary Italy and the speech of Italians?

As the above questions indicate, I conducted an analysis of Camilleri's use of Sicilian lexical regionalisms and the characters who utter them in an effort to ascertain what this information conveys about Italy and the Italian speech community. To do so, it was necessary to significantly expand the sociolinguistic dimension of Sgroi's model, as I explain in the pages which follow. It must be emphasized, however, that the primary focus of this dissertation is on the findings with respect to both the type and amount of Sicilian regional lexemes used in the text.

5.2 The Data: Relevance and Suitability

My decision to apply Sgroi's (1990) model to a book from the Commissario Salvo Montalbano series, rather than to one of Camilleri's historical novels, is based on the enormous popularity of the Montalbano character. I selected *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* due to the tremendous interest these stories have generated both with the Italian reading public and in the publishing world. As previously noted, two of the thirty stories have been made into highly successful television movies in Italy, and seventeen of them have been adapted by scholastic publishers for language study. Italian publisher Arnoldo Mondadori Scuola released *Quindici giorni con Montalbano (Fifteen Days with Montalbano)* (1999) for use in

teaching Sicilian to native Italian students only one year after the publication of *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. Danish publisher Aschehoug Dansk Forlag subsequently released two volumes of these stories, all of which were rewritten in the standard, for use in teaching Italian to non-native speakers: *Otto giorni con Montalbano (Eight Days with Montalbano)* (2001); and, *Nuove avventure con Montalbano (New Adventures with Montalbano)* (2003). These adaptations, while not the subject of the present study, are indirectly relevant to my research since their very existence underscores the need for a study of regional Italian that clarifies the confusion about this variety and advocates for its use in classroom instruction.

Besides the apparent allure of the Montalbano stories, another reason for utilizing them in conjunction with Sgroi's (1990) model is that their publication in 1998 coincides with what I will call 'the golden age' of Camilleri's literature. The mid to late 1990's represent, to date, the author's most successful period in terms of book sales and media attention: indeed, it was precisely in 1998 that he had an astonishing seven books in the top ten. More importantly, it was during this same time that his literary language most closely mirrored the current speech habits of Italians. In recent years, Camilleri has begun to increase and, some would say, exaggerate the depiction of dialect and regional Italian usage in his writing, owing most probably to its obvious reader appeal. It was therefore preferable and more fitting to use an earlier publication such as *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*, instead of the most recent novel in the Montalbano series, for my analysis of Camilleri's depiction of Sicilian regional language as it relates to contemporary Italian linguistic practices.

In addition to the linguistic bearing of *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*, the stories in this collection further lend themselves to analysis with

Sgroi's (1990) model due to their rich sociolinguistic and cultural content. Although Montalbano is, as the title of the book suggests, the protagonist of each of the thirty stories, he interacts with approximately one hundred and fifty supporting characters, all of whom represent a broad spectrum with respect to age, education, occupation, social class and place of origin. While most of the stories are set in the imaginary Sicilian city of Vigàta, which is modeled after Camilleri's hometown of Porto Empedocle, many of them take place in various cities and towns across Sicily and one is situated in the Northern Italian city of Trieste. Most importantly for my research, the stories deal with a wide variety of topics, most, but not all, of which involve themes pertinent to Sicilian society and culture, including the effects of immigration, the Mafia and the Allied invasion during World War II, as well as the role of the Catholic Church. Significantly, Camilleri incorporates these social and cultural characteristics not only in his narration and plot lines, but also, as my analysis will show, in the types of regional language the characters speak.

5.3 The Research Model: Strengths and Weaknesses

Not only are Camilleri's stories ideal subjects of study for Sgroi's (1990) sociolinguistic model, but the model itself is, in most respects, remarkably well-suited for a sociolinguistic analysis of Camilleri's regional Italian. The model is based on a literary depiction of regional language and focuses precisely on the regional Italian of Sicily. Moreover, it has been applied to the writing of the late Leonardo Sciascia, an author to whom Camilleri is frequently compared. Like Sciascia, Camilleri was born in the 1920's in the Agrigento region of Sicily. And both authors, although writing in slightly different time periods (Sciascia from approximately 1950 until 1988, and Camilleri from 1967 to the present), make use of the medium of the detective novel to explore historical and political issues as they pertain to Sicilian

society and culture. Most importantly for the present study, each deems it necessary to include the Sicilian dialect and regional Italian in their prose in order to effectively capture the essence of Sicily. The similarities of the two authors, especially in regard to the regional language and content of their work, therefore render the model a valid tool for use in examining Camilleri's depiction of the regional Italian of Sicily.

It is important to note, however, that the model has several limitations which interfere to varying degrees with its applicability to the writing of Camilleri. The first issue concerns the contrasting views of Camilleri and Sciascia with respect to standard Italian and how it should be employed in literature. As previously mentioned, Camilleri (1998a) finds the standard to be an "*obsoleto* (obsolete)" means of communication; and, perhaps for this reason, he has steadily increased his usage of dialect and regional Italian in his prose throughout the course of his career (p. 142). But Sciascia's body of work, according to Sgroi (1990), is characterized by a "*progressiva sregionalizzazione e standardizzazione* (progressive deregionalization and standardization)" (p. 308), because the author believed the standard to be more suitable than dialect for expressive purposes (p. 309). Consequently, Sciascia's deliberately sparing use of dialect and regional Italian has worked to constrain the number of subcategories in Sgroi's model. In other words, the model only includes the types of lexical regionalisms found in *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of The Owl)*. It is to be expected, then, given Camilleri's liberal use of dialect and regional Italian, that the model will be unable to accommodate certain aspects of his language.

Another weakness with regard to the subcategories of Sgroi's model involves their inflexibility. The model posits that lexical items may be separated into distinct categories and subcategories; but language, particularly in the complex Italian context, "is anything but discrete" (Berruto, 2004b, p. 306). As an example, Sgroi

(1990) lists lexical regionalisms that have been phonologically adapted from the Sicilian, such as *chiarchiaro* (Sic. *chiarchiaru*; Eng. rugged area of terrain) (p. 288) and *pungere* (Sic. *punciri*; Eng. to worry; It. *pungere*; Eng. to prick, sting) (p. 299), as sign and semantic regionalisms, respectively, but does not cross-list them as phonological adaptations. This omission is curious since lexical regionalisms are, by definition, phonological adaptations of dialect terms, with the notable exception of various feminine nouns ending in *-a*, such as *cosca* (Sic. *cosca*; Eng. Mafia clan), which are borrowed from the dialect intact due to their similarity with the Italian (Sgroi, 1990, p. 288). The failure of the model to allow for the cross-referencing of items when applicable therefore results in an incomplete picture of the full range of the features of regional Italian, an issue which is problematic in a study of Camilleri, as he routinely and quite purposefully exploits the many forms, functions and uses of language in his work.

Also problematic is Sgroi's system of summarizing his findings with respect to the lexical regionalisms. For reasons that are unclear, he provides a summary of the rank, frequency, types and occurrences, as well as the grand totals for each, for the lexical items that comprise only two of the subcategories: the sign and semantic regionalisms. As an example, in Figure 9 below I have provided a portion of the table in which Sgroi (1990) summarizes his findings for sign regionalisms:

Rango (Rank)	*Frequenza* (Frequency)	*Tipi* (Types)	*Occorrenze* (Occurrences)	*Lemmi* (Entry Word)
I	13	2	26	*chiarchiaro*, *ingiuria*
II	11	1	11	*panella*
III	6	2	12	*cosca*, *panella*

Figure 9. An Excerpt from Sgroi's Table of Findings for Sign Regionalisms (p. 295)

Unfortunately, he does not provide any sort of description of the four categories of the tables. For instance, he never states what he means by "*rango* (rank)", nor does he explain his methodology for ascertaining that *chiarchiaro* and *ingiuria* constitute two "*tipi* (types)" of this particular rank I (Ibid.). Also unclear is the precise difference between "*frequenza* (frequency)" and "*occorrenze* (occurrences)" (Ibid.).

One additional shortcoming of the model, and possibly the most significant, pertains to Sgroi's method of identification of the speakers of the regional Italian of Sicily and the contexts in which this variety is employed. In order to "*esplicitare le condizioni sociolinguistiche degli usi regionali* (make explicit the sociolinguistic conditions of the regional uses)", Sgroi (1990) records the complete quotation associated with each lexical regionalism in the text. And, in many, but not all, of the cases, he also provides the names of the speaker, the listener and the situation in which the regionalism was used (p. 282). For example, beneath the entry for the sign regionalism "*cassata*", which is a Sicilian cake, Sgroi lists the following information:

> — *Qualche volta, a Natale, mi regalano la cassata*. (p. 106)
>
> (*Il vecchio capomafia don Mariano viene interrogato dal capitano Bellodi*)
>
> (— Sometimes, at Christmas, they give me cassata. [p. 106]
>
> [The old Mafia boss don Mariano is interrogated by Captain Bellodi]) (p. 288)

Unfortunately, however, he does not provide a cohesive analysis or summary of his findings which details the socioeconomic backgrounds of the characters who employ regional Italian and the contexts of use of this variety. It is therefore impossible for a reader of Sgroi's (1990) study to make any sort of determination about regional

Italian usage without a thorough knowledge of both the characters and events of *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of the Owl)*. In this respect, Sgroi's approach is woefully inadequate for an analysis of the literature of a writer such as Camilleri, for whom placing characters in a specific sociolinguistic context is a fundamental aspect of their development, particularly with respect to their usage of language. As Camilleri explains, "*il personaggio* […] *nasce, quasi, dalle parole che deve dire* (the character […] is born from the words he must say)" (as cited in Sorgi, 2000, pp. 120-121).

5.4 General Revisions to the Model

In light of the inability of Sgroi's (1990) model to fully accommodate the rich and varied nature of Camilleri's depiction of Sicily, its inhabitants and their language in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*, I have adopted the position of Berruto (2004b), who maintains that:

> we must take data that don't work into serious account, and we must not try to force them into the model at all costs [...] but if anything, should change the model. Often the data that don't work are the ones that give us the insight to understand how things stand, to reformulate the model either in part or entirely (p. 310).

I have therefore made the following five revisions to the model, each of which is discussed in substantial detail in the Methodology section below. First, I create new subcategories of lexical regionalisms in order to incorporate into the model those lexical items in the short stories which are outside the scope of Sgroi's findings with respect to Sciascia's novel. In this same vein, I address the inflexibility of the

subcategories of the model by cross-referencing lexical regionalisms whenever appropriate in accordance with Berruto's (2004a) notion of an Italian linguistic continuum, which posits that the varieties are not distinct entities but rather "*si intersecano* (intersect)" (p. 20). I also devise a new system of recording the number of occurrences of a particular term that is not based on grouping lexical items according to rank. To resolve the uncertainties regarding the sociolinguistic conditions of use of the regional Italian of Sicily as presented in Sgroi's model, I include in my study a thorough examination of the speakers of this variety and the occasions in which it is employed in each of the stories with the scope of providing a complete summary of my findings. Finally, because the stories contain a significant amount of regional language pertaining to topics peculiar to Sicily such as the Mafia and Sicilian cuisine, I add a new dimension to the model: the grouping of lexical regionalisms according to theme. Although Sgroi's model does not allow for the thematic categorization of language, it is an important approach to the study of lexical regionalisms as it may lead to the identification of patterns of regional variation that extend beyond the Sicilian context.

5.5 Methodology: Creating the Revised Version of the Model

To revise Sgroi's (1990) model, I devised a version that would allow me to produce a master list of the data from the thirty stories in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. Using my three research questions as a guide, I designed a spreadsheet arranged by columns that would permit the documentation and classification of the following types of data: the various lexical regionalisms used by the narrator and the characters; information regarding the names, ages, gender and occupations of the characters, as well as the contexts of use of their regional language; and, the setting and general theme or themes of each of the thirty stories.

The use of the spreadsheet format was intended to facilitate two key revisions to Sgroi's model: the cross-listing of lexical regionalisms in various subcategories; and, the counting of lexical and sociolinguistic data for subsequent analysis.

5.5.1 The Lexical Regionalisms

To devise the revised version of the model, I first recorded the seven original subcategories of lexical regionalisms as identified by Sgroi:

sign regionalisms
phraseological regionalisms
semantic regionalisms
phonological adaptations of similar words
hypercharacterization
hyperfrequency
atypical regionalisms

Figure 10. Sgroi's (1990) Model of Lexical Regionalisms (p. 287)

I then added three new categories to the model. Because Sgroi only includes individual words in the subcategory of phonological adaptations, I incorporated a subcategory that would allow for the documentation of "phonological adaptations of similar phrases" to the new version of the model. Interestingly, Camilleri's tendency to utilize phonological adaptations necessitated the inclusion of two additional subcategories: "terms from other regions" and "invented regionalisms". With regard to the former, on two occasions Camilleri (1998b) employs the term "*migliaro* (It. *migliaio*; Eng. thousand)" (pp. 52, 80), a phonological adaptation of the Sicilian term "*migliaru*" that De Mauro (1999-2000) identifies as common to Central Italy (http://old.demauroparavia.it). The category of invented regionalisms is for terms such as "*sparluccicare*" (a combination of "*sbrillare* [to shine]" and "*luccicare* [to twinkle]") (Moroldo, n.d.) that are more then mere phonological adaptations, but rather comprise artistic creations of the author.

In addition to adding three subcategories to the model of lexical regionalisms, I altered the name of Sgroi's (1990) subcategory "*iperfrequenza* (hyperfrequency)" (p. 287) to "hyperfrequency a" and "hyperfrequency b". I made these changes because Sgroi (1990) actually describes two types of hyperfrequency in his model: first, those "*termini di coppie di sinonimi particolarmente frequenti per la pressione indiretta esercitata dal dialetto* (terms for pairs of synonyms that are particularly frequent due to the indirect pressure exercised by the dialect)" (p. 302); and second, words "*definite dai dizionari della lingua italiana come 'archaiche' o 'rare'* (defined by Italian language dictionaries as 'archaic' or 'rare')" (p. 303), which are also utilized because of their similarity to the corresponding dialectal terms.

In light of my integration of the above-described changes into the model, I list the subcategories of lexical regionalisms in the revised model in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Subcategories of Lexical Regionalisms in the Revised Version of Sgroi's (1990) Model
sign regionalisms
phraseological regionalisms
semantic regionalisms
phonological adaptations of similar words
phonological adaptations of similar phrases
hypercharacterization
hyperfrequency a
hyperfrequency b
atypical regionalisms
terms from other regions
invented regionalisms

5.5.2 Sociolinguistic Data and Contexts of Use

With regard to the characters and their usage of lexical regionalisms, it was necessary to redesign Sgroi's system of documenting the personal information and the contexts of their conversations in order to facilitate the analysis of the data. As

noted previously, Sgroi's sociolinguistic analysis consists of providing the quotation containing the lexical regionalism and, in most cases, the name of the speaker and the listener associated with the quote, the context of use, and its page number in the text. At times, Sgroi also includes the linguistic reference in which the Sicilian source word for a lexical regionalism is cited. For instance, he lists the Italian verb *pungere* (to sting) as it is used in the regional Italian of Sicily, i.e., "to worry", as follows:

> *Pungere, sic. punciri 'preoccupare'* (Traina 1868, Nicotra 1883):
>
> 1. — *Ma ora la cosa è diversa: che un uomo simile stia dalle nostre parti, dovrebbe pungere più a lei che a me…* (p. 22)
>
> *(Dialogo fra un mafioso e un onorevole affiliato alla mafia)*
>
> (*Pungere*, *sic. punciri* '*preoccupare* [to worry]' [Traina 1868, Nicotra 1883]
>
> 1. — But now the situation is different: that a man of the kind is on our side should worry you more than me… [p. 22]
>
> [Dialogue between a mobster and a politician affiliated with the mafia]) (Sgroi, 1998, p. 299)

The resultant entries in the model, as the above example indicates, are unwieldy and, when taken as a whole, would be extremely difficult to analyze.

In order to compensate for this problematic aspect of Sgroi's (1990) model, I devised a method which includes the same information as that of Sgroi, but which also allows for easier analysis of the data. Specifically, I created a column for each of my ten subcategories of lexical regionalism in the model. Each of these lexical columns is followed by five additional columns in which to document the page number, the speaker, the speaker's age, the speaker's occupation, and the name of

the listener with the quotation (for those lexical items employed in the narration, information about the speaker's age, occupation and the name of the listener were left blank). I placed any additional information about the lexical item, such as the reference for its corresponding Sicilian term or the source which identifies it as a regional term, in the column with the item. As an example, I listed the semantic regionalism *spiare*, which means "to spy" in Italian but "to ask" in the regional Italian of Sicily, as follows:

semantic regionalism	***page***	***speaker***	***age***	***occupation***	***listener/quotation***
spiare (Sic. *spiari* [lit. to spy]; It. *chiedere*; Eng. to ask) (Piccitto, 1977)	343	il dottor Pasquano	anziano (elderly	Medico legale (medical examiner)	Montalbano/Lo vada a spiare a loro! (Go ask them!)

I selected this format to allow for both the counting and sorting of the data by any of the above column headings in accordance with the purposes of my analysis.

In contrast to Sgroi's method, I opted to incorporate various additional types of information about the characters in the revised version of the model. For each story, I created a comprehensive list of the cast of characters that I placed beneath the title of the story in the very first column of the spreadsheet. In every list, I highlighted the name of those characters who do not speak, so as not to confuse them with those who may use regional Italian in the texts. In addition, I included certain descriptive items about a given character for purposes of reference. For example, beside the name of Serena Peritore, a character in "La lettera anonima (The Anonymous Letter)", I wrote *moglie* (wife) as well as a regional term from Camilleri's own narration to help me to recall her role in the story: "*traditora* (betrayer)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 11). Furthermore, I added any information provided about the place of origin of characters, i.e., those from other Italian regions or countries, in order to track speakers who are unlikely to employ terms specific to the

regional Italian of Sicily. I did, however, also identify those speakers from other Sicilian cities and towns for purposes of determining whether their use of regional language differs from that of the characters who are native to the city of Vigàta.

In regard to contexts of use, I expanded significantly on Sgroi's method. As noted above, Sgroi occasionally notes the type of conversation in which the regionalism was uttered, e.g., "*(Dialogo fra un mafioso e un onorevole affiliato alla mafia)* [Dialogue between a mobster and a politician affiliated with the mafia]" (Sgroi, 1998, p. 299). In addition to the type of conversation, I incorporated three additional aspects of context of use into the model: the location of the conversation; the register of the conversation; and, the emotional nature of the conversation. In terms of the latter, it must be stressed that I only recorded instances of emotion when they were particularly apparent in the text: for instance, if the sentence ended with an exclamation mark; and, if the character or narrator added a comment about their feelings in reference to the utterance containing the lexical regionalism in question.

5.5.3 Story Setting and Themes

Because I felt it necessary to add a thematic component to Sgroi's model, I created additional columns which allowed me to track both the setting and theme or themes of each story in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. The intent was to identify any emergent patterns or themes with respect to regional Italian usage. In regard to the main or "primary" setting, I listed the city or town in which the story was situated. I listed as "secondary" settings those locations that might have a thematic vocabulary or jargon associated with them, such as "circus" or "funerals". For the theme, I noted the main plot line, any major institution that had a role in a given story, key historical, political and social issues that were raised,

and any holidays that were taking place. As an example, for the story "L'odore del diavolo (The Smell of the Devil)", which involves an elderly woman whose shady nephew tries to convince her that the devil has infested her home in order to force her to sell to his equally shady associates, I recorded the city of "Vigàta" in a column titled "primary setting", "villa" in a column titled "secondary setting", and the themes "Exorcism, Catholic Church" in the column titled "theme". In addition, I typed a brief paragraph summarizing the events of each of the stories for reference as needed.

5.6 Research Question 1

What are the specific types of lexical items that comprise the regional Italian of Sicily in Camilleri's short stories?

5.6.1 Collecting and Codifying the Data: Lexical Regionalisms

Once I had established the framework of the revised version of the model, I began collecting and codifying the necessary data with which to address each of my three research questions. To answer the above question, I went through a hard copy of *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* on a word-by-word basis, compiling a list for each story of all words that appeared to be the regional Italian of Sicily. To both distinguish between Sicilian dialect and regional Italian terms and to identify phonological adaptations of dialect terms, I used, as did Sgroi (1990), a five volume set of Sicilian dictionaries edited by Piccitto (1977) as well as Scavuzzo's (1982) *Dizionario del parlar siciliano*. If I was unable to find a particular term in the Sicilian dictionaries, I then consulted two Italian dictionaries: De Mauro's (1999-2000) online dictionary and Zingarelli (2001). If I was still unable to ascertain the origin of a term, I checked Moroldo's (n.d.) *Mèridionalismes chez les auteurs italiens contemporains. Dictionnaire étymologique (Southernisms by Contemporary Italian authors: Etymological Dictionary)*. Finally, as last a resort, I consulted both Bonfiglio's

(2002) Sicilian – Italian dictionary of Camilleri's terms as well as the impressive Sicilian – Italian dictionary entitled "Il Camilleri-linguaggio (Camilleri-Language)" compiled and rigorously maintained by the "Camilleri fans club" at www.vigata.org. For gastronomic terms, I consulted Ruffino and Bernardi's (2001) *Per una ricerca sulla cultura alimentare e sul lessico gastronomico in Sicilia. Appunti e materiali (For Research on the Alimentary Culture and on the Gastronomic Lexicon in Sicily. Notes and Materials)*. Finally, to establish the source of certain conjugated verbs, I consulted Fortuna's (2002) *Grammatica siciliana* (Sicilian Grammar). Because the focus of my dissertation concerns only the regional Italian of Sicily, I immediately eliminated all lexical items from my initial list that were found to be either Sicilian dialect or standard Italian.

Next, I used the indexes of lexical regionalisms provided by Tropea (1976), Leone (1982) and Tropea (1990) in an attempt to verify the regional status of each of the remaining terms on my list, as well as the list of findings presented by Sgroi (1990) in his analysis of Sciascia. I, of course, recorded any pertinent information provided by these texts about the specific lexical regionalisms in my data. If, however, I did not find a given word in any of the above-listed regional Italian references, I then went back to Piccitto (1977) in an effort to determine whether it had been phonologically adapted from the Sicilian dialect. In the vast majority of the cases, however, I had already identified the phonological adaptations when I consulted Piccitto (1977) at the beginning of my data collection.

After completing the data collection and coding portion of my analysis, I entered the lexical regionalisms in the model spreadsheet to produce a "master list" of terms. I proceeded on a word-by-word basis, placing each regionalism in the appropriate lexical subcategory and the pertinent information about the page number,

the speaker's name, age and occupation, the listener and the quotation in the columns following the term. If the lexical item was taken from a "written" source, such as note or letter written by the character, I simply placed the word "written" before the lexical item in question. I completed one story at a time, so as not to confuse the data with that of another story. This story-by-story approach also allowed me to watch for any emergent themes in the data.

5.6.2 Methodological Issues with Camilleri's Language

As to be expected, I encountered a number of theoretical and practical issues when coding the lexical regionalisms in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* in the revised version of Sgroi's (1990) model. Each of this issues as well as their solutions are described in the paragraphs which follow.

5.6.2.1 Theoretical Issues

The first theoretical problem concerned the classification of those words for which I was unable to identify a Sicilian source term. Fortunately, there were only two such items in Camilleri's stories: the verb "*s'imparpagliò* (he/she was rendered speechless)" (p. 375) and its adjective "*imparpagliato* (speechless)" (p. 306). When all attempts to identify the origin of these terms had been exhausted, I listed them as phonological adaptations of their closest Sicilian counterparts: *si mparpugli*ò (he/she become confused) and *mparpugliatu* (confused), respectively. I classified them as such in accordance with Camilleri's own admission that his Sicilian "*non è la trascrizione del dialetto siciliano* (is not the transcription of the dialect)", but rather represents what he describes as "*una reinvenzione del dialetto* (a reinvention of the dialect)" (http://www.andreacamilleri.net/camilleri/linguaggio.html).

Another significant theoretical issue had to do with the codification of lexical items that are shared by both Italian and Sicilian. An example of this problem involved

the standard Italian term "*denunzia* (denunciation)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 290), which Camilleri employs frequently throughout his stories to describe the denunciation of a crime. At first glance, I identified this term as the old-fashioned Italian version of its modern equivalent, *denuncia*. But I also felt that Camilleri must have chosen the old-fashioned version for a reason, i.e., it is more similar to the dialect term. After consulting Piccitto (1977), I found that, in fact, *denunzia* (denouncement) is also a rare Sicilian term, the more common equivalent of which is *dinunzia*. Although some would argue that Camilleri's use of *denunzia* represents a clear case of hyperfrequency, as it constitutes the frequent use of a term due to pressure from the dialect, others would say that it is merely an Italian term. Because I take the view that Camilleri's artistic mission is to intensify the Sicilianness rather than the Italianness of his texts, I therefore decided to treat terms such as *denunzia*, which were found to be identical in Sicilian and Italian, as Sicilian lexical items and eliminate them from my data. I did, however, include those intact borrowings from Sicilian which are recognized in reference works as regional Italian. For example, the Sicilian dialect term *mafia* is recognized in dictionaries as an Italian lexical item particular to Sicily. As such, *mafia* is a sign regionalism and is therefore pertinent to my research.

A third theoretical issue involved the identification of Camilleri's phonological adaptations. As previously stated, I added a subcategory to Sgroi's (1990) model entitled "invented regionalisms" in which to place those lexical items which were found to be artistic inventions of the author. As I began to collect and classify my data, I soon realized the virtual impossibility of this task. Not only was the extremely high number of these terms prohibitive, the regional Italian reference books were also of little use in their authentication. With the majority of these lexical items, I had no way of determining whether they actually exist within Sicily or whether they were created

by Camilleri to enhance the regional feel of the text. For example, it is entirely possible that Sicilian speakers, owing to the influence of Italian, occasionally utter the words "*gennaro* (*January*)", "*friddo* (*cold*)" and "*aspittare* (*to wait*)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 51) instead of their dialectal counterparts *jinnaru* (January), *freddu* (cold), and *aspittari* (to wait). Without conducting personal interviews with either Camilleri himself or with native speakers, particularly those who reside in the author's hometown, it is impossible to verify which terms are authentic and which are artistic. I therefore made the decision to list all such terms in the subcategory of phonological adaptations, revising my original plan to classify all of Camilleri's own creations as invented regionalisms.

The most significant theoretical issue pertained to cross-listing lexical regionalisms in the model in accordance with the Italian linguistic continuum. Because I had planned to cross-list regionalisms in order to depict the ways in which these items often overlap in the contemporary Italian speech community, I concluded that only genuine examples of the regional Italian of Sicily could be cross-listed with the various subcategories of the model. Those lexical items which were potentially inauthentic, i.e., the lexemes listed in the subcategories of phonological adaptations, hypercharacterization, terms from other regions and invented regionalisms, were therefore not cross-listed with those which could be verified as authentic, i.e., the lexemes which constitute sign, semantic and phraseological regionalisms. In addition, lexical items classified as hyperfrequency were not cross-listed with the other subcategories of the model, simply because there was no way to verify whether these words were actually selected for use owing to their similarity to the corresponding dialect terms. As a result, only sign, phraseological and semantic regionalisms were considered with respect to research questions 2 and 3, respectively. The impact of this

decision to eliminate a substantial portion of the data will be discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to the findings with respect to the research questions in this dissertation.

5.6.2.2 Practical Issues

In terms of practical problems, one major issue concerned whether a number of short verb phrases in the text should be codified as phrases or as individual words. Camilleri (1998b) uses a number of such phrases, including "*ammazzarlo* (Sic. *ammazzarlu*; It. *ucciderlo*; Eng. to kill him)" (p. 342) and "*si taliarono* (Sic. *si taliarunu*; It. *si guardarono*; Eng. they looked at each other)" (p. 410). In each case, only one word is of interest for my research: *ammazzare* is a sign regionalism, while "*lo*" is merely a direct object pronoun; and the "*taliarono*" portion of the reflexive verb "*si taliarono*" is a phonological adaptation, while "*si*" is not. After I began entering my data into the spreadsheet, I noticed that I was coding these phrases inconsistently. For instance, I had entered "*ammazzarlo*" as a sign regionalism, as opposed to a phraseological one, but I had coded "*si taliarono*" as a phonological adaptation of a phrase, instead of a word. Because Sgroi (1990) defines phraseological regionalisms as "*locuzioni, frasi fatte, modi di dire ecc. adoperati con significati (o composti di lessemi) propri del dialetto* (locutions, set phrases, expressions etc. employed with meanings [or composed of lexemes] precisely from the dialect)" (p. 287), I therefore resolved to treat short phrases that do not have any sort of idiomatic meaning as individual words. Consequently, I left "*ammazzarlo*" in the subcategory of sign regionalisms, and moved "*si taliarono*" to phonological adaptations of similar words.

A more problematic practical issue involved the timing of cross-listing lexical regionalisms. I had initially intended to do any necessary cross-listing as I entered each lexical item in the spreadsheet. I soon realized, however, that this method was too confusing. As an example, Camilleri (1998b) often uses the sign regionalism

"*pizzo*", which refers to a type of bribe typically extorted from the proprietors of small businesses by the Mafia (p. 131). This term also qualifies as a phonological adaptation of a word because it was derived from the Sicilian *pizzu*. In addition, *pizzo* is also a semantic regionalism, since it has two different meanings in Italian: goatee and lace. Furthermore, because Camilleri (1998b) often employs *pizzo* in the Sicilian regional expression "*pagare il pizzo* (to pay the bribe)" (p. 137), it is both a phraseological regionalism as well as a phonological adaptation of the phrase *pagari lu pizzu*. The lexical regionalism *pizzo* can therefore be cross-listed in a total of five subcategories. The act of recording multiple occurrences of this type of word or phrase within the same story was too confusing. I therefore had to amend my plan to create a single, "master list" of all lexical regionalisms cross-listed in the appropriate categories. Instead, I produced two lists: one in keeping with Sgroi's original model, which lists lexical regionalisms according to their most relevant subcategory (in the Sicilian regional context, *pizzo* is first and foremost a sign regionalism, as it is recognized to mean a bribe in the context of shop owners and the Mafia); and one in keeping with the revised model, which lists and cross-lists regionalisms as appropriate. The former list was used to produce a count of the lexical regionalisms in the text, including duplications of the same item, while the latter was used to produce a breakdown of the overall percentages of the eleven types of lexical regionalisms used in the stories.

5.6.3 Organizing the Data: Lexical Regionalisms

As previously noted, it was necessary to produce two master lists of the data for the purposes of my analysis: one which did not involve cross-listing lexical regionalisms for use in producing a true count of the amount of regional language in the text; and one that involved cross-listing for use in calculating the percentages of the lexical regionalisms by subcategory. To compile the former, I assembled the data

recorded from the story-by-story analysis in one list in accordance with the eleven subcategories of lexical regionalisms. I then produced a total count of the number of lexical regionalisms as compared with the total number of words in the text. Next, I tallied the amount of regional language employed by the narrator and the speakers, respectively, in order to determine who uses the majority of the regional Italian in the text: Camilleri or his characters. Using this master list, I then began to cross-list the lexical regionalisms when appropriate in a separate spreadsheet. I did not, however, cross-list potentially inauthentic lexical items, i.e., those classified as phonological adaptations, hypercharacterization, hyperfrequency, terms from other regions and invented regionalisms, with the subcategories of sign, phraseological and semantic regionalisms. I used this list to calculate percentages of regional language use by subcategory in an effort to determine which are the most and least prevalent.

5.7 Research Question 2

Who are the speakers of regional Italian in these stories and what are the contexts of use of this variety?

5.7.1 Organizing the Data: Sociolinguistic Facets and Contexts of Use

Following my creation of an inventory of the lexical regionalisms, speakers and contexts of use of this variety in all thirty short stories, it became apparent that I again needed to create new data lists in order to answer my second research question about the speakers and usage of regional Italian. My first objective was that of separating the lexical regionalisms employed by the characters from those of the narrator, and eliminating the latter. My rationale for doing so was simple: it was necessary to understand what Camilleri was telling his readers about how his characters speak regional Italian, and not what Camilleri was telling his readers in terms of employing this variety in the narration of literary texts. I then deleted all

tokens of lexical regionalisms listed in the subcategories of phonological adaptations, hypercharacterization, hyperfrequency, terms from other regions and invented regionalisms from the character data, in accordance with my decision to analyze only those words that have been verified as authentic to the regional Italian of Sicily.

Once I had deleted the unnecessary data, I realized that I had to make a decision about how to treat five of the characters who have recurring roles in the stories and therefore use a disproportionate amount of the regional Italian in the text: namely, Commissario Montalbano, Vicecommissario Mimì Augello, Ispettore Fazio, Agente Agostino Catarella and the journalist Nicolò Zito. In the end, I opted to do a comparative analysis of the data both with and without these recurring characters. My rationale for choosing this type of analysis was twofold. First, I had already eliminated 691 of the 896 total lexical regionalisms used by the characters in the stories due to their questionable status. By eliminating the data for the recurring characters, I would have not only reduced my remaining data by half, but I would have also eliminated regionalisms which are authentic Sicilian Italian. Second, I was curious to see what, if anything, the presence or lack thereof of these characters in my data would indicate about regional Italian usage. In the sections which follow, I describe my methodology in more detail with respect to the organization of the remaining data pertaining to age, gender, occupation and contexts of use.

5.7.1.1 Age

To organize the data with respect to the age of the characters, I created a master list which includes the name, age, occupation and a tally of the number of lexical regionalisms employed either in speech or in writing by each character in the text. The tally was derived by counting the number of regionalisms associated with each character in the "speaker list"; those characters who appear in more than one

story received a single tally, as did those characters who appear in only one story. Next, I used the master list of characters to create two separate spreadsheets. The first consists of a series of three columns, two of which contain the name and age, when given, of all characters who have speaking roles in the thirty stories. The third column presents the number of lexical regionalisms uttered by each character, with a grand total of the regionalisms. This information was sorted by age in order to produce the data for the second spreadsheet, which displays the amount of regional language used by decade of life. To clarify, a tally of regional Italian usage was reported for those characters between the ages of 0-9, 10-19, 20-29, and so forth, until the ages of 90-99. This data was used for two purposes: first, to create tables with the number of speakers of regional Italian and their respective proportions of usage of this variety for each age group; and second, to compare with data for dialect usage from the 2007 report of the *Istituto Nazionale di Statistica* (National Institute of Statistics, ISTAT). It is important to note that if the age of a character was not provided in the text, this character was omitted from analysis.

5.7.1.2 Gender

The master list of characters also served as the basis from which to organize my data with respect to the gender of the characters in the stories and their frequency of use of lexical regionalisms. From this list, I produced a simple spreadsheet which separates the characters by gender and provides the tally of the number of lexical regionalisms used by each. Using the data from this table, I then created tables which display the number and percentages of male and female characters who use regional Italian as well as the amount of lexical regionalisms used by each gender. Next, these findings were used for purposes of comparison with the 2007 ISTAT data for dialect usage with respect to gender.

5.7.1.3 Occupation

Because Camilleri often provides the occupations of his characters as a window into their social class, there was a large amount of data in terms of regional Italian usage by occupation. I therefore sorted the occupations into broad categories of employment. The names of these categories were determined based on the types of occupations presented in the text. For example, there was a sailor, a WWII soldier and a guerilla war fighter, so I listed these together under a category labeled "Military". I then used the employment categories to create a spreadsheet which includes the name, occupation and tally of lexical regionalisms employed by all characters who use oral or written language in the stories. This sheet was used to calculate both the number of speakers and the proportion of regional Italian usage for each employment category to produce tables of my findings. In order to compare my findings with those of ISTAT, it was then necessary to modify the employment categories generated from the text. To do so, I selected generic employment types, such as "white collar" and "blue collar" and collapsed categories as appropriate. In the category of "blue collar" jobs, for instance, I listed the data from "agriculture" and "service". After adjusting all of the original employment categories, I created new tables in which to present my findings with respect to the regional usage in the text and the dialect usage of contemporary Italians.

5.7.1.4 Contexts of Use

In order to organize my data for contexts of use, I transferred the data from my master spreadsheet into a separate one which contained columns for the lexical item in question, the name of the speaker, the listener/quotation, the context of the communication, the location of the utterance, the register of the communication, and the emotional tone. I sorted the data by column in order to calculate the number of

tokens and percentage of lexical regionalisms used with respect to context, location, register and emotional tone.

5.8 Research Question 3

What does Camilleri's depiction of regional language and its use in the Sicilian context indicate about contemporary Italy and the speech of Italians?

5.8.1 Depicting Italy: Lexical Regionalisms, Setting and Themes

To determine what Camilleri's portrayal of regional Italian usage in Sicily says about Italy today, I consulted my master list of data in order to analyze the settings and themes of each story in relation to the types of lexical regionalisms contained in them. For this portion of the study, I examined the sign, phraseological and semantic regionalisms employed by the characters and the narrator, since Camilleri utilizes both the voices of his characters as well as his own voice in the narration to present his image of Italy. I investigated the types of themes that emerged from the lexical regionalisms in regard to both the primary and secondary settings, as well as the main theme or themes of the stories in an effort to establish what these themes communicate to the reader about Italy in terms of the cultural content of the regional Italian employed.

To organize my data with respect to the settings and themes of the stories, I used a spreadsheet to arrange it according to the following three columns: the number of each story in the order it appears in the text; the setting; and the theme. As noted previously, I defined the "primary setting" as the city or town in which the action occurred. Other types of settings within the city or town in question, such as "restaurant" or "circus", were categorized as a "secondary setting". My definition of the "theme" of the story encompassed the plot (for example, "vendetta"), any major institutions associated with it (such as "the Mafia"), and historical, social or political

issues that factored into the story. I also recorded in the theme column all holidays taking place in the story. The data was then sorted by theme in order to group like items and identify the numbers of the stories in which they appear. After isolating the themes, the lexical regionalisms contained in the corresponding stories were examined for any words or expressions connected with the theme. For example, "Mafia" is a recurring theme in stories 4, 10, 13 and 28, and these stories contain a number of lexical regionalisms associated with organized crime. For every common theme, I then recorded each associated lexical regionalism, the speaker's name or, if applicable, the narrator, and the setting in which the regionalism was uttered. All data was then reviewed to establish any patterns of regional language use with respect to the settings and themes in the stories.

5.8.2 Depicting Italians: Emergent Themes and Affective Quality

In order to establish what Camilleri's use of regional Italian indicates about the speech of contemporary Italians, I examined two aspects of the 205 lexical regionalisms used by the characters in the text. First, I attempted to determine what, if any, thematic content would emerge from an analysis of the specific regional lexemes the characters use to express themselves. I was particularly interested in determining whether I would find regional language pertaining to common themes involving personal relationships, work and other aspects of daily life. I then performed a holistic analysis of the lexical regionalisms in order to gain a sense of whether the expressive qualities traditionally associated with dialect (Alfonzetti, 1992, p. 139) are conveyed in the regional Italian used by the speakers. This last point is particularly important as it relates directly to Camilleri's concept/sentiment dichotomy of Italian/dialect usage among Italians and to Berruto's (1989) point that in Italy today the regional Italians are "the true 'dialects of Italian'" (pp. 8-9).

Chapter 6: Findings

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present my findings with respect to Camilleri's usage of the regional Italian of Sicily in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* in accordance with the three research questions that have guided this dissertation. Generally speaking, the lexical portion of Sgroi's (1990) sociolinguistic model proved to be an excellent methodological tool with which to analyze the thirty short stories in this text. Because Camilleri's stories focus on issues pertinent to contemporary Sicilian society and culture and follow the traditional plot structure of the mystery genre, they feature many of the same themes and therefore much of the same language as Sciascia's classic mystery *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of the Owl)*, the novel from which Sgroi's model was created. As noted previously, however, the differing views of the authors in regard to the viability of the standard as an expressive idiom had a direct impact on the amount of non-standard language used in their respective texts: Sciascia deliberately kept the number of dialect and regional terms at a minimum in his novel, while Camilleri incorporates these forms liberally, and often creatively so, in his stories in order to enhance the Sicilian ambience. Although I had attempted to revise Sgroi's model in a manner that would sufficiently accommodate Camilleri's extensive use of regional Italian lexicon, I discovered during the course of my analysis, as I discuss below, that I had somewhat underestimated the extent of the author's capacity to regionalize the language of his literature.

6.2 Findings for Research Question 1

What are the specific types of lexical items that comprise the regional Italian of Sicily in Camilleri's short stories?

6.2.1 Finalizing the Model: Subcategories of Lexical Regionalisms

Two key findings pertaining to the use of hyperfrequency and phraseological regionalisms in Camilleri's stories necessitated last-minute changes to the revised version of the model. As I explain in Chapter 5, I created a master list of all lexical regionalisms in the text in order to effectively collect and analyze the data. While I was reviewing the data on this list, I realized that I had isolated several types of hyperfrequency that were not adequately represented in Sgroi's original model. Sgroi (1990) only accounts for two types of hyperfrequency, both of which I had retained intact in my revised model: those Italian synonyms that appear frequently in the text due to indirect pressure from the dialect, which I named "hyperfrequency a"; and those synonyms defined in Italian dictionaries as "archaic" or "rare" that appear in the text due to indirect pressure from the dialect, which I referred to as "hyperfrequency b" (pp. 302-303). My analysis revealed, however, that the Italian terms I had categorized in the subcategory of "hyperfrequency a" comprised six broad categories of vocabulary: fundamental; common; old-fashioned; rare; obsolete; and literary. Because these vocabulary terms represent different varieties of Italian, it was crucial to capture them in my research on a regional variety.

The data also indicated that the subcategory of phraseological regionalisms was more complicated than I had previously understood. Because I knew that the majority of Camilleri's phraseological regionalisms were phonological adaptations of expressions from the dialect, I had created a subcategory entitled "phonological adaptations of similar phrases" in which to list them in the model. What I had failed

to realize, however, is that phraseological regionalisms typically constitute sign regionalisms, and some are also semantic. Rather than creating two separate subcategories for sign and semantic phrases, I resolved to treat phraseological regionalisms as individual lexemes in my analysis. Unlike the situation with hyperfrequency, it served no purpose in terms of the scope of my research to track the percentages of phrases that were phonological, sign and semantic.

In light of these discoveries, it became necessary to make further revisions to the model in order to accurately document the results of my lexical research. The subcategory of hyperfrequency was therefore expanded to account for the different types of vocabulary in the short stories, while the subcategory of phonological adaptations of similar phrases was eliminated for purposes of simplification and uniformity. Table 4 below presents a complete list of the subcategories of lexical regionalisms in the final version of the model:

Table 4. Subcategories of Lexical Regionalisms in the Final Version of the Model
sign regionalisms
phraseological regionalisms
semantic regionalisms
phonological adaptations
hypercharacterization
hyperfrequency of fundamental terms
hyperfrequency of common terms
hyperfrequency of old-fashioned terms
hyperfrequency of rare terms
hyperfrequency of obsolete terms
hyperfrequency of literary terms
atypical regionalisms
terms from other regions
invented regionalisms

Before proceeding to a detailed description of the findings with respect to the subcategories of lexical regionalisms in the model, I first present the distribution of the data for each.

6.2.2 Count Data: Distribution of Use

In keeping with Sgroi's original model, I provide a tally of the lexical regionalisms in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* by subcategory in order to establish a true count of these items. The figures in Table 5 present the total use of each of the types of lexical regionalisms in Camilleri's 87,356 word text.

Table 5. The Subcategories of Lexical Regionalisms and their Distribution of Use in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*

Lexical Regionalisms	*Count*	*Percentage*
sign regionalisms	228	8.89%
phraseological regionalisms	75	2.92%
semantic regionalisms	204	7.95%
phonological adaptations	987	38.48%
Hypercharacterization	2	0.08%
hyperfrequency of fundamental terms	567	22.11%
hyperfrequency of common terms	224	8.73%
hyperfrequency of old-fashioned terms	32	1.25%
hyperfrequency of rare terms	38	1.48%
hyperfrequency of obsolete terms	26	1.01%
hyperfrequency of literary terms	140	5.46%
atypical regionalisms	0	0.00%
terms from other regions	30	1.17%
invented regionalisms	12	0.47%
Total	**2,565**	**100.00%**

The 2,565 total tokens of regionalisms identified, which include duplications of the same term, comprise 2.94% of the language in the short stories. Although these figures effectively convey the amount of regional Italian terms utilized by Camilleri, they fail to capture the complex, inter-related nature of this variety. In fact, by attributing individual lexical regionalisms to a single subcategory, Sgroi's model inaccurately represents Italian as a language that can be separated into discrete components. To correct this weakness of the model, I created a second version of the master list in which I cross-list each individual lexical item in all relevant subcategories in order to provide a more accurate portrait of the use of regional Italian lexicon in the text.

6.2.3 Count and Cross-listed Data: Distribution of Use

The cross-listed version of the data captures the complexity of the current linguistic situation in Italy as depicted by the Italian linguistic continuum: specifically, it illustrates the ways in which the varieties of Italian overlap, often sharing similar or even the same lexemes. For purposes of comparison, I provide the distribution of use of both count and cross-listed data for each of the types of lexical regionalisms identified in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* in Table 6 below.

Table 6. The Distribution of Use by Subcategory for Count and Cross-listed Data in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*

Lexical Regionalisms	*Count Data*		*Cross-listed Data*	
sign regionalisms	228	8.89%	507	15.68%
phraseological regionalisms	75	2.92%	75	2.32%
semantic regionalisms	204	7.95%	206	6.37%
phonological adaptations	987	38.48%	1306	40.37%
hypercharacterization	2	0.08%	2	0.06%
hyperfrequency of fundamental terms	567	22.11%	567	17.54%
hyperfrequency of common terms	224	8.73%	252	7.79%
hyperfrequency of old-fashioned terms	32	1.25%	34	1.05%
hyperfrequency of rare terms	38	1.48%	38	1.18%
hyperfrequency of obsolete terms	26	1.01%	26	0.80%
hyperfrequency of literary terms	140	5.46%	162	5.01%
atypical regionalisms	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
terms from other regions	30	1.17%	47	1.46%
invented regionalisms	12	0.47%	12	0.37%
Total	**2,565**	**100.00%**	**3,233**	**100.00%**

As this table illustrates, many of the subcategories of lexical regionalisms are expanded due to the cross-listing of the data. Specifically, there are 668 instances of overlap with seven of the subcategories, resulting in 3,233 representations of the lexemes captured by the model. In the remainder of this section, I describe what the figures in Table 6 indicate about the subcategories of lexical regionalisms in Camilleri's text in terms of their relative importance as components of the regional Italian of Sicily, as well as their relationship to other varieties of Italian.

6.2.3.1 Sign Regionalisms

According to Sgroi (1990), sign regionalisms are "*prestiti integrali* (integral loans)" which are taken from the dialect "*nel significato e nel significante* (in form and in meaning)" (p. 287). It is important to clarify, however, that many of these terms, including those collected as part of Sgroi's own research, exhibit signs of Italianization. Technically speaking, then, all Italian words derived from the dialect can be considered sign regionalisms. But, in keeping with Sgroi's methodology of classification, I coded lexical regionalisms according to their primary linguistic function before I carried out my own methodological objective of cross-listing the data. I have therefore listed as sign regionalisms only those terms that have been identified as such by linguists. As a result, the sign regionalisms in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* comprise 15.68% of the cross-listed data, which makes them the third largest subcategory of regional Italian language usage in the text.

Although sign regionalisms consist of both words and phrases, all phrases used in Camilleri's short stories which were identified as authentic to the regional Italian of Sicily were listed in the subcategory of phraseological regionalisms and then cross-listed as appropriate. My analysis indicates that the sign regionalisms in the text can be cross-listed in three of the subcategories in the model: phonological adaptations; hyperfrequency; and terms from other regions. While many of the sign regionalisms are feminine nouns that have been borrowed intact from the dialect, such as "*camurrìa* (It. *fastidio*; Eng. annoyance)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 18), most of them are either masculine nouns or verbs that have been Italianized, including "*mafioso* (Sic. *mafiusu*; Eng. mobster)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 184) and "*scantare* (Sic. *scantari*; It. *spaventare*; Eng. to frighten)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 65). All

Italianized sign regionalisms were classified in the subcategory of phonological adaptations.

A few of the sign regionalisms in Camilleri's text, both the intact borrowings from the dialect and the phonological adaptations, have been incorporated into everyday usage in Italy and therefore represent hyperfrequency. The terms "*scippo* (Sic. *scippu*; It. *furto compiuto strappando qualcosa a qualcuno*; Eng. mugging)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 393) and the third person plural of its corresponding verb form "*scippano* (Sic. scippari; It. *derubare strappando qualcosa a qualcuno*; Eng. to mug)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 130) are cross-listed as hyperfrequency of common terms, because they are described by De Mauro (1999-2000) as commonly-used words. Interestingly, Leone (1982) notes that "*scippo*" and "*scippare*" are so commonplace in everyday Italian usage that most Italians do not realize that these terms are Sicilian in origin (p. 67). In fact, Zingarelli (2001) lists both terms as of uncertain etymological origin, and they are often characterized as neo-standard Italian.

Also of interest is the sign regionalism "*prescia* (It. *fretta*; Eng. haste)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 17). Because De Mauro (1999-2000) classifies this term as a Central Southern regionalism, I cross-listed it in the subcategory of terms from other regions. This word is also significant because Leone (1982) maintains that "*prescia*" and "*babbiare* (Sic. *babbiari*; It. *scherzare*; Eng. to joke)", another sign regionalism which appears throughout Camilleri's short stories, are used "*solo da persone con scarsa istruzione* (only by people with little education)" (p. 97). As such, these terms are indicative of a popular variety of the regional Italian of Sicily.

A problematic aspect of my analysis of sign regionalisms involves Camilleri's (1998b) use of the past participle "'*ngiuriato* (Sic. *ngiuriatu*; Eng. nicknamed)" in the verb phrase "*venne 'ngiuriato* (he was nicknamed)" (p. 304). Although Tropea

(1990) lists its corresponding noun form "*ingiuria*" as a semantic regionalism which means "*soprannome* (nickname)" (p. 242) in the regional Italian of Sicily, I was forced to list "'*ngiuriato*" as a sign regionalism because Camilleri's phonological adaptation of the term does not correspond exactly in form to the standard Italian *ingiuriato*, which means *offeso* (offended, insulted). Curiously, Sgroi (1990) lists Sciascia's use of the semantic regionalism "*ingiuria* (Sic. *inciuria*; It. *soprannome*; Eng. nickname)" (p. 290) as a sign regionalism, even though it corresponds precisely in form to the standard Italian equivalent and therefore comprises a semantic regionalism.

One final note about the subcategory of sign regionalisms is that it marks the greatest degree of similarity between the language of Camilleri and Sciascia. Whether it was intentional or simply coincidental, Camilleri (1998b) uses seven of the same sign regionalisms as identified by Sgroi in his analysis of *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of the Owl)*: "*cassata* (It. *cassata*; Eng. a type of Sicilian dessert)" (p. 66); "*chiarchiaro* (Sic. *chiarchiaru*; It. *zona scosesa*; Eng. rugged area of terrain)" (p. 50); "*cosca* (It. *cosca*; Eng. Mafia clan)" (p. 51); "'*ngiuriato* (Sic. *ngiuriatu*; Eng. nicknamed)" (p. 304); "*lupara* (It. *lupara*; Eng. sawed-off shotgun)" (p. 49); "*prescia* (It. *fretta*; Eng. haste)" (p. 17); and, "*quaquaraquà* (It. *vigliacco*; Eng. coward)" (p. 138).

6.2.3.2 Phraseological Regionalisms

Sgroi (1990) defines phraseological regionalisms as "*le voci, le locuzioni e gli usi idiomatici trasferiti di peso, ma comunque con i consueti adattamenti fonetici, dal dialetto alla lingua* (the words, locutions and idiomatic uses transferred intact, but nevertheless with the customary phonetic adaptations, from the dialect to the language)" (p. 50). Although these items only account for about 2.32% of the lexical

regionalisms in Camilleri's short stories, they are often among the most memorable aspects of his language, owing primarily to the cultural information they impart. While I made every effort to include only those phrases that could be verified as authentic to Sicily in this subcategory, I did, however, include those phrases which Camilleri personally identified as native to the region in his narration.

As Sgroi's above definition suggests, phraseological regionalisms are typically phonologically adapted from the dialect. Consequently, these phrases can be cross-listed in the model both as phonological adaptations and as sign regionalisms. For example, the phonologically adapted Sicilian phrase "*sarde a beccafico* (Sic. *sardi a beccaficu*)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 14), which is identified by Tropea (1976; p. 97) as a dish of fried sardine rolls, was cross-listed as a phonological adaptation and a sign regionalism. As previously discussed, however, the phraseological regionalisms in Camilleri's text may also comprise semantic regionalisms. One notable example is the phonologically adapted phrase "*omo singolo* (Sic. *omu singulu*)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 279). Although this phrase literally means "*uomo singolo* (individual man)" in the standard and "single male" in neo-standard Italian, it is defined by the author as a local expression which means "*tanto magro di corpo quanto senza pinsèri di mogliere e figli* (as lean in body as in worries of wife and children)" (Ibid.). This phrase was cross-listed in three subcategories: phonological adaptations; sign regionalisms; and semantic regionalisms. It is important to note that phraseological regionalisms which have a figurative meaning in Sicilian Italian but only a literal one in standard Italian were cross-listed as sign rather than semantic regionalisms. For example, both Tropea (1976; p. 73) and Leone (1982; p. 24) list the Sicilian "*avere il carbone bagnato* (to have a guilty conscience)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 132), which literally means "to have wet coal" in standard Italian, as a sign regionalism.

One type of phraseological regionalism that warrants some discussion is the morphosyntactic phenomenon of duplication. Duplication involves the repetition of a noun, adjective, adverb or verb, as in the phrase "*casa casa* (lit. house house)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 76). Camilleri uses a considerable amount of duplication in his text. Because duplication is a common feature of the Sicilian dialect, the regional Italian of Sicily and neo-standard Italian, however, I only included those phrases in my analysis that I could identify as characteristic of the regional Italian of Sicily. In the case of "*casa casa*", I was able to verify that it is both a Sicilian phrase, which Piccitto (1977) defines as "*qua e là per la casa* (here and there throughout the house)", and a sign regionalism, which Tropea (1976) defines as "*aggirarsi per la casa* (to roam about the house)" (p. 47).

6.2.3.3 Semantic Regionalisms

Semantic regionalisms consist of Italian words which are employed with meanings that are peculiar to their corresponding dialect terms (Sgroi, 1990, 287). Although there are 206 tokens of semantic regionalisms in Camilleri's short stories, representing 6.37% of the regional language in the text, this figure represents only 11 distinct terms. The numbers for this subcategory have been inflated by the author's frequent use of the semantic regionalism "*spiare* (Sic. *spiari*; Eng. to ask)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 73), as opposed to the Italian *chiedere* (to ask), in the narration. Camilleri clearly favors the term *spiare*, which literally means "to spy" in standard Italian, in his role as narrator because it is a Sicilian regionalism which means "to ask" in the sense of 'spying' into the thoughts of others.

The semantic regionalisms identified in the short stories are cross-listed with two subcategories in the model: sign regionalisms and phonological adaptations. By definition, semantic regionalisms constitute sign regionalisms because they are

derived in form and in meaning from the dialect. Many of the semantic regionalisms in the text are also phonological adaptations from the dialect, as in the case of *spiare* (Sic. *spiari*; Eng. to ask) above. It should be noted, however, that not all of the semantic regionalisms in the stories exhibit Italianization. For instance, the Sicilian Italian term "*orata* (Sic. orata; It. *oretta*; Eng. about an hour)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 53), which literally means "gilthead fish" in the standard, is borrowed intact from the dialect (Leone, 1982, p. 83) and therefore cross-listed only with sign regionalisms.

A semantic regionalism worthy of mention is the term *don*. Camilleri's (1998b) short stories contain two different meanings of *don*: one refers to members of the clergy, e.g., the priest "don Celestino Zanchi" (p. 105) in the story "Un diario del '43 (A Diary from '43)", and the other to mafia bosses, e.g., "don Lillino Cuffaro" (p. 49) in "Par condicio (Equal Treatment)". De Mauro (1999-2000) registers both meanings of the term, noting that the former is fundamental to usage throughout Italy while the latter is a regionalism. I therefore classified all tokens of *don* (member of the clergy) as hyperfrequency of fundamental terms. I categorized the tokens of don (Mafia boss) as semantic regionalisms, however, because Tropea (1999) confirms that "*don*" is a "*titolo che si premette al nome di battesimo di boss mafiosi* (title that one puts before the Christian name of Mafia bosses)" (p. 240) in the regional Italian of Sicily. I then cross-listed all instances of the regional use of this term in the subcategory of sign regionalisms. Interestingly, Tropea (1999) notes that the use of *don* to denote Mafia bosses is most prevalent in the news media and in literature pertaining to the Mafia (p. 240).

6.2.3.4 Phonological Adaptations

Sgroi (1990) describes the subcategory of phonological adaptations as consisting of "*quei termini che vengono modificati solo nel significante per attrazione*

di una parola affine nel dialetto, senza che ne venga coinvolto il piano semantico (those terms that are modified only in form due to the attraction of a similar word in the dialect, without the involvement of the semantic plane)" (p. 302). As mentioned previously, I have also incorporated phonological adaptations of phraseological regionalisms into this subcategory. Due to Camilleri's predilection for Italianizing the Sicilian in his literature, the subcategory of phonological adaptations is the largest in the model, encompassing a total of 1305 lexical regionalisms that account for 40.37% of the regional Italian in text. It must be noted, however, that 318 (24.37%) of these regionalisms are authentic sign, phraseological and semantic regionalisms which have been cross-listed in this subcategory; therefore, as many as 987 (75.63%) of these regionalisms are possible artistic creations of the author. This amount is quite significant when contrasted with the 2 phonological adaptations identified by Sgroi (1990) in his analysis of Sciascia's *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of the Owl)* (p. 302).

Because the subcategory of phonological adaptations includes both artistic and authentic lexical regionalisms, none of the phonological adaptations in the text which I was unable to verify as authentic to the regional Italian of Sicily were cross-listed with any of the other subcategories in the model. It must be stated, however, that many of these suspect lexical regionalisms appear to be, at least in part, genuine representations of the language of the island. For instance, Camilleri (1998b) uses a number of phonological adaptations which contain *–gli* instead of the standard Sicilian *–gghi*, such as "*ammaravigliarsi* (Sic. *ammaravigghiarisi*; It. *meravigliarsi*; Eng. to marvel)" (p. 211) and "*mogliere* (Sic. *mugghieri*; It. *moglie*; Eng. wife)" (p. 85). According to Ruffino (2001), *-gli* is a prominent morphosyntactic feature of one of the dialects of Agrigento (p. 37). Because Camilleri is a native of

this province, it is therefore possible that all of the terms in the stories which display this feature represent lexemes from a Western variety of the regional Italian of Sicily.

On the other hand, many of Camilleri's phonological adaptations are clearly regionalisms of his own creation. For example, the adjective "*squieto* (Sic. *squetu*; It. *inquieto*; Eng. worried)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 245) and the verb "*raprì* (Sic. *rapì*; It. *aprì*; Eng. she/he opened)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 72) appear to be adaptations of Sicilian dialect terms that were created for purposes of assonance, perhaps, with respect to their standard Italian counterparts. That being said, it is certainly possible that both of the above regionalized forms could be uttered in authentic conversation by Sicilian speakers.

An additional problem relating to the authenticity of Camilleri's phonological adaptations concerns the fact that many of them seem to be mere reflections of pronunciation habits common to all Italians, regardless of region. For example, Camilleri (1998b) eliminates the final vowel of the Sicilian and standard Italian word "*assai* (very)" to produce "*assà*" (p. 81). This type of truncation, or apocope, is typical of speech practices throughout Italy. There are also a considerable number of terms in the text which exhibit superfluous accent marks, such as "*isàre* (Sic. *isari*; It. *alzare*; Eng. to raise)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 74) and "*pòviro* (Sic. *poviru*; It. *povero*; Eng. poor)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 164). Because the placement of these accent marks underscores the accepted rules of stress for Sicilian and Italian terms alike, they are completely unnecessary for the Italian readership. It would therefore seem that Camilleri both mimics and highlights certain aspects of authentic speech practices in order to exoticize the Italian in the stories, thereby intensifying the regional atmosphere of the text.

6.2.3.5 Hypercharacterization

The phenomenon of hypercharacterization, which is more commonly known as "*ipercorrezione* (hypercorrection)", consists of the "*rifiuto del termine comune italiano in quanto sentito come dialettale e scartato per un lessema meno diffuso* (refusal of the common Italian term in as much as it is heard as dialectal and discarded for a less diffuse lexeme)" (Sgroi, 1990, p. 287). This subcategory comprises only 0.06% of the lexical regionalisms in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. In all probability, a major reason that hypercharacterization is underrepresented in the text because the avoidance of dialectal elements is in direct conflict with the author's objective of Sicilianizing the language in his literature.

By definition, hypercharacterization does not comprise regional language. Consequently, lexical items in this subcategory were not cross-listed with any other subcategory in the model. According to Tropea (1976), hypercharacterization is typical of speakers with low levels of education who are fearful of introducing dialect into Italian discourse (p. 126). This is precisely the case in Camilleri's (1998b) short story "Tocco d'artista (The Artist's Touch)", in which the seventy-five year-old retired shepherd Filippo Alaimo utters the term "*giornalisto* (Sic. *giornalista*; It. *giornalista*; Eng. journalist)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 261) on two separate occasions while being interviewed for a television news program. Due to the very public nature of the conversation, this character attempts to avoid the use of the Sicilian term "*giornalista*", not realizing that it is the same in standard Italian. He therefore Italianizes the already Italian term in accordance with the *–o* ending characteristic of Italian masculine nouns, producing the hypercharacterized "*giornalisto*". While the term "*giornalisto*" does not constitute a "less diffuse lexeme" in strict conformity with

Sgroi's above-mentioned definition of hypercharacterization, a morphosyntactic error of this kind is certainly likely to occur among less sophisticated speakers of Italian who are attempting to approximate standard Italian.

6.2.3.6 Hyperfrequency

Hyperfrequency occurs when speakers choose a specific Italian synonym over another due to "*la pressione indiretta esercitata dal dialetto* (the indirect pressure exercised by the dialect)" (Sgroi, 1990, p. 302). As discussed in Section 6.2.1, Sgroi (1990) identifies two types of hyperfrequency in Sciascia's *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of the Owl)*: synonyms that appear unusually frequently, and those that may appear only once or twice but are considered frequent simply because they are "archaic" or "rare" (p. 303). In my analysis of Camilleri's short stories, however, I isolated six types of hyperfrequent terms: fundamental; common; old-fashioned; rare; obsolete; and literary. Although it is impossible to know whether an individual uses an Italian term because it is similar to dialect, I believe that Camilleri does precisely this to contribute to the Sicilian flavour of his texts. In fact, there are a surprisingly high number of tokens of Italian lexemes in the short stories that are evocative of Sicilian dialect terms. For this reason, hyperfrequency comprises 33.36% of the language in the model, which makes it the second largest subcategory in the text after phonological adaptations. This finding is in stark contrast to that of Sgroi (1990), who found a minimal amount of hyperfrequent terms in his analysis of Sciascia's novel.

Because hyperfrequent terms are essentially components of standard Italian, I did not cross-list them with any of the other subcategories of lexical regionalisms in the model. I did, however, cross-list some hyperfrequent terms in other types of hyperfrequency. And, as previously noted, a few sign regionalisms are cross-listed

with hyperfrequency. Because each type of hyperfrequency has its own unique characteristics, I address each of the six types individually in the paragraphs which follow.

6.2.3.6.1 Hyperfrequency of Fundamental Terms

The subcategory of hyperfrequency of fundamental terms includes those words which are cornerstones of standard Italian. The importance of these terms explains their prominence in Camilleri's short stories: they constitute the largest type of hyperfrequency and comprise 17.54% of the regional language in the text. Like Sciascia in *Il giorno della Civetta (The Day of the Owl)*, Camilleri clearly favours the use of the terms *ammazzare* (Sic. *ammazzari*; Eng. to kill) and *manco* (Sic. *mancu*; Eng. not even) over their more common Italian counterparts *uccidere* (to kill) and *nemmeno* (not even) in the short stories: there are ninety-eight tokens of *ammazzare* and five tokens of *uccidere*; and one hundred three tokens of *manco*, but only three tokens of *nemmeno*. Camilleri also uses many terms which Tropea (1976) identifies as instances of hypercharacterization, since they are perceived as dialectal by Sicilian speakers and therefore often avoided (p. 127). Among these terms are the infinitive "*domandare* (Sic. *dumandari*; Eng. to ask)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 169) as opposed to *chiedere* (to ask), and the past participle "*scordato* (Sic. *scurdatu*; Eng. forgot)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 72) instead of *dimenticato* (forgot).

6.2.3.6.2 Hyperfrequency of Common Terms

Hyperfrequency of common terms comprises terms which De Mauro (1999-2000) maintains are used independently of occupation or region of origin, but are associated with average to superior levels of education. Like hyperfrequency of fundamental terms, this subcategory represents a relatively large percentage of the language in the model: 7.79%. Examples of common terms include the use of

"*principiare* (Sic. *principiari*; Eng. to begin)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 165), as opposed to *cominciare* (Sic. *accuminciari*; Eng. to begin), and "*maritare* (Sic. *maritari*; Eng. to marry)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 402) as opposed to *sposare* (Sic. *spusari*; Eng. to marry). As the glosses indicate, there is a dialectal equivalent of each of these terms. Notably, however, Camilleri tends to select the less common of the two sets of terms in the stories: there are sixty-one tokens of *principiare*, but twenty-three of *cominciare*; and, there are twenty tokens of *maritare*, but only six of *sposare*.

6.2.3.6.3 Hyperfrequency of Old-fashioned Terms

The subcategory of hyperfrequency of old-fashioned terms includes those lexical items which De Mauro (1999-2000) defines as "*relativamente rari nel parlare o scrivere, ma tutti ben noti perché legati ad atti e oggetti di grande rilevanza nella vita quotidiana* (relatively rare in speech or writing, but all well-known because they are tied to objects of great relevance in daily life)" (http://old.demauroparavia.it/avv05.php). This subcategory represents 1.05% of the language in the model. One example of this type of term is "*sorcio* (Sic. *surciu*; Eng. mouse)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 339), which appears in Camilleri's stories fifteen times, while its more common equivalent, *topo* (mouse), appears only seven. Significantly, Leone (1982) notes that "*sorcio*" is typically avoided by Sicilian speakers due to its similarity to the dialectal "*surciu*" (p. 58). Another outdated term in the text which Tropea (1976; p. 127) maintains that Sicilian speakers avoid owing to its association with dialect is the sign regionalism "*camposanto* (Sic. *campusantu*; Eng. cemetery)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 220), which has been cross-listed in this subcategory.

6.2.3.6.4 Hyperfrequency of Rare Terms

The subcategory of hyperfrequency of rare terms refers to those lexical items which De Mauro (1999-2000) describes as "*basso uso* (low usage)", in the sense of

infrequently-used (http://old.demauroparavia.it/avv05.php). Although these items represent only 1.18% of the language in the model, this is a significant amount given the scarcity of these terms in everyday communication. Two examples of rare terms that Camilleri employs repeatedly in his stories are "*màscolo* (Sic. *masculu*; It. *maschio*; Eng. male)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 244) and "*imbriaco* (Sic. *mbriacu*; It. *ubriaco*; Eng. drunk)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 378). Not only do both terms appear to have been selected on the basis of their similarity to the corresponding dialectal terms, the use of the unnecessary accent mark on the term "*màscolo*" further seems to indicate the intent of the author to employ Italian terms which are evocative of the Sicilian dialect.

6.2.3.6.5 Hyperfrequency of Obsolete Terms

The subcategory of hyperfrequency of obsolete terms is for words that exist only in dictionaries and reference works (De Mauro, 1999-2000). Consequently, this subcategory corresponds most closely to Sgroi's hyperfrequency of "archaic" or "rare" terms. According to Sgroi (1990), lexical items in this subcategory can also be considered sign regionalisms (p. 303). The underlying assumption is that if an Italian term is no longer in circulation, then and individual who uses it must be doing so due to the influence of a similar dialect term. This argument, while difficult to prove, is somewhat convincing in the case of Camilleri's overly frequent use of obsolete terms. This subcategory comprises 0.80% of the language in the short stories, which is unusual given that this language is, by definition, no longer in use. A prominent example of this type of hyperfrequency involves the obsolete term "*travagliare* (Sic. *travagliari*; Eng. to work)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 295). Camilleri uses the verb *travagliare* (Sic. *travagliari*; Eng. to work) sixteen times in the text, while the current term *lavorare* (to work) appears only three times. It should be noted that because

travagliare was part of the literary standard, all tokens of this lexical item were cross-listed with the subcategory of hyperfrequency of literary terms.

6.2.3.6.6 Hyperfrequency of Literary Terms

Hyperfrequency of literary terms includes those lexical items that are characteristic of the literary standard. Because this category represents 5.01% of the language in the text, it lends support the assertion that at the heart of Camilleri's regional Italian lies "*un impianto letterario tradizionale* (a traditional literary foundation)" (La Fauci, 2003, p. 340). One example of hyperfrequency of literary terms in the short stories involves the author's preference for the term "*appresentarsi* (Sic. *apprisentarisi*; Eng. to present oneself)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 15) over the commonly-used term *presentarsi* (to present oneself). Other examples include the terms "*core* (Sic. *cori*; Eng. heart)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 403) and "*foco* (Sic. *focu*; Eng. fire)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 50), instead of their non-literary Italian equivalents *cuore* (heart) and *fuoco* (fire). Although it is certainly not surprising that an Italian author would use literary language in his writing, particularly in light of the history of the Italian language, it is somewhat unexpected from an author such as Camilleri (1998a) who openly declares the standard to be "*obsoleto* (obsolete)" (p. 142). His use of these literary terms, as well as the previously-discussed types of hyperfrequency, would therefore seem to suggest that he intentionally utilizes hyperfrequency to add to the Sicilianness of the short stories while still keeping the language accessible to the non-Sicilian reader.

6.2.3.7 Atypical Regionalisms

Atypical regionalisms are regional terms which are not derived either directly or indirectly from the local dialect (Sgroi, 1990, p. 304). There were no atypical regionalisms indentified in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. In

all likelihood, Camilleri avoids the use of these terms for the same reason that he tends to avoid hypercharacterization: the use of non-Sicilian language to depict the speech of Sicilians runs counter to his literary purposes.

6.2.3.8 Terms from Other Regions

Although Camilleri avoids hypercharacterization and atypical regionalisms in his short stories, he occasionally includes lexical items used in other regions of Italy. I therefore incorporated the subcategory of terms from other regions into the model to accommodate those lexical regionalisms which are not wholly reflective of the regional Italian of Sicily or, at least, Southern Italy. The present subcategory therefore contains only those lexical regionalisms which are exclusive to Northern and Central regions of Italy, as well as a few lexemes which are defined as Central-Southern. This subcategory comprises 1.46% of the regional language in the text.

Because terms from other regions are not Sicilian in origin, they are not cross-listed with any of the subcategories in the model. There seem to be at least two types of these terms in the short stories: those used to depict other cities or regions of Italy; and, those which may be accidental products of the author's phonological adaptations. With respect to those terms which Camilleri uses to depict other Italian regions, these exclusively involve vocabulary pertaining to local cuisine. For example, when Commissario Montalbano visits the Northern Italian city of Trieste in the story "Miracoli di Trieste (Miracles of Trieste)", he eats "*guatti sfilettati* (a typical dish of the city, which consists of surmullet in broth)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 148) and drinks "*un terrano del Carso* (a dry white wine from the Karst plain, which lies in the province of Trieste)" (Ibid.).

A number of the non-Sicilian regionalisms in the short stories seem to result from Camilleri's tendency to phonologically adapt Sicilian lexical items. Interestingly,

almost all of these terms are native to Central and Central-Southern Italy. For example, Camilleri uses a number of Tuscan terms, including "*piccioli* (Sic. *picciuli*; It. *petiole*; Eng. coins)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 69) and "*ovo* (Sic. *ovu*; It. *uovo*; Eng. egg)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 96). Other terms feature the –*aro* ending of nouns in the Romanesco dialect, such as "*migliaro* (Sic. *migliaru*; It. *migliaio*; Eng. thousand)" (Camilleri, 1998b; p. 52) and "*tabaccaro* (Sic. *tabaccaru*; It. *tabaccaio*; Eng. tobacconist)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 334). Camilleri (1998b) also uses terms which De Mauro (1999-2000) classifies as Central Southern, including the previously-discussed "*prescia* (It. *fretta*; Eng. haste)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 17) and "*paro* (Sic. *paru*; It. *paio*; Eng. pair)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 333). Although it is unclear whether Camilleri is intentionally adapting these terms in accordance with the phonological features of these areas of Italy, it is certainly possible given his sensitivity to dialect and regional language.

6.2.3.9 Invented Regionalisms

Because Camilleri often experiments with language, it was necessary to add the subcategory of invented regionalisms to the model. It is important to note that I have eliminated three invented lexical items from my analysis, all of which were created by Camilleri (1998b) to depict the setting of the stories, because I feel that they are more appropriately classified as elements of Sicilian rather than regional Italian/ These excluded terms are as follows: the name of the imaginary Sicilian city of "*Vigàta*" (p. 9); the "*vigatesi* (p. 52)", who are the inhabitants of *Vigàta*; and, the local television station, "*Televigàta*" (p. 30). For my purposes, invented regionalisms are defined as Italian lexical items which Camilleri created, rather than phonologically adapted, from the Sicilian dialect. This subcategory consists of 0.37% of the regionalisms in the text.

Because invented regionalisms are not authentic to the regional Italian of Sicily, they are not cross-listed with any of the subcategories in the model. Three invented verbs were identified in the short stories: "*cimiare* (It. *oscillare*; Eng. to sway)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 133); "*sparluccicarono* (they sparkled)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 352); and, "*sbrilluccicava* (it was sparkling)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 67). Although the verb "*cimiare*" exists in the Sicilian dialect, i.e., *cimiari*, it means "to wait for something" or "to scheme". It has been theorized that Camilleri created a new meaning for this term by using the noun "*cima* (top)" to depict the tops of trees swaying in the wind (http://www.vigata.org/dizionario/camilleri_linguaggio.html). In regard to the verb "*sparluccicare*", Moroldo (n.d.) contends that it is a Southernism formed by combining two verbs: "*sbrillare* (to shine)" and "*luccicare* (to twinkle)" (http://www.unice.fr/circles/langues/real/dialectes/index.htm#Pour_consulter_le_dictionnaire:_). Notably, two invented derivatives of "*sparluccicare*" also appear in the text: the noun "*sparluccichìo* (sparkling)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 80) and the adjective "*sparluccicante* (sparkling)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 18). Although it is impossible to ascertain the author's motives for inventing regionalisms rather than using authentic or even phonologically adapted ones, it is clear that these terms are intended to contribute, as does all of the language in the model, to Camilleri's depiction of the complexity of the linguistic situation in Sicily and in Italy.

6.2.4 Implications of Lexical Regionalisms

The application of the lexical portion of the model to the lexicon in Camilleri's short stories indicate two main points about his regional Italian. First, owing to the overlapping nature of the Italian linguistic continuum and to the author's tendency to phonologically adapt the language in his writing, many of the lexical regionalisms in the text actually coincide or appear to coincide both with other varieties of Italian,

such as the literary standard and the neostandard, and other regional Italians. Second, and most importantly, only 19.77% of the lexical items identified by the model, which corresponds to the sign, phraseological and semantic regionalisms used in the text, is verifiable as authentic to the lexicon of the regional Italian of Sicily. It is therefore possible that as much as 80.23% of the data represents either another variety of Italian or artistic creations of the author. This finding, as I will show in the following section, had an adverse effect on the analysis with respect to Camilleri's use of regional Italian as it relates to age, gender, occupation and contexts of use.

6.3 Findings for Research Question 2

Who are the speakers of regional Italian in these stories and what are the contexts of use of this variety?

6.3.1 General Findings

To answer the above research question, I examined the socio-economic information provided by Camilleri in the short stories about the various characters in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* who use the regional Italian of Sicily, and the specific situations in which they use this variety. This data exhibits three general findings. First, of the 145 characters who use either spoken or written language in the text, only 50 of them use lexemes that can be identified as authentic Sicilian Italian. Specifically, these 50 characters use 205 of the 507 authentic sign, phraseological and semantic regionalisms in stories, while the remaining 302 Sicilian Italian lexical items represent those regionalisms employed in the narration, which were excluded from the present analysis. Also, the data exhibits a significant amount of skew due to the recurring roles of five main characters, who use a combined total of 101 of the 205 tokens of lexical regionalisms:

a) Commissario Montalbano (54 tokens);

b) Ispettore Fazio, (12 tokens);

c) Vicecommissario Mimì Augello, (26 tokens);

d) Agente Agostino Catarella, (3 tokens);

e) and, Nicolò Zito, (6 tokens).

Finally, the data shows that not all of the Sicilian regional Italian used by the characters is representative of oral language. In fact, there is one token of a written regionalism in the short stories: "*quaquaraqua* (vile coward)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 138).

In the four subsections which follow, I present my findings with respect to the ways in which the age, gender and occupation of the characters, as well as the contexts of their oral dialogue or written correspondence, affect their oral and written usage of the regional Italian of Sicily. Because I concur with Berruto (1989) that the regional Italians are not only formed from the traditional dialects but, in fact, represent the real dialects of standard Italian (pp. 8-9), I place special emphasis on the ways in which patterns of regional Italian usage in the stories coincide or conflict with patterns of use of the traditional dialects in the contemporary Italian speech community.

6.3.1.1 Age

Camilleri provides the ages of 17 of the 50 characters who use sign, phraseological or semantic regionalisms in the text. It must be noted that among these 17 are two of the characters with recurring roles: Montalbano, age 46; and Fazio, age 50. These 17 characters range in age from 28 to 87. In Table 7, I present the findings by age group with respect to the characters' usage of regional Italian.

Table 7. Regional Language Usage by Age Group in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: With Recurring Characters			
Age Group	Number of Characters	Tokens of Usage	Proportion of Usage
0-9	-	-	-
10-19	-	-	-
20-29	1	6	6.00
30-39	4	9	2.25
40-49	3	57	19.00
50-59	4	17	4.25
60-69	1	3	3.00
70-79	2	5	2.50
80-89	2	3	1.50
90-99	-	-	-
Totals	**17**	**100**	**-**

The above figures suggest a number of findings with respect to age and the use of regional Italian. First, the 40-49 year olds have the second-highest number of speakers and use the greatest amount of regional language in the text. Of course, the amount of their language is skewed owing primarily to the disproportionately large number of regionalisms used by Montalbano. The 20-29 year olds, despite having only one speaker, represent the second-largest amount of regional Italian usage. This group is followed by the four 50-59 year-olds, whose relatively high ranking is largely a result of Fazio's presence in the data. Those age groups which use the least amount of regional language are, in descending order, 60-69, 70-79, 30-39 and 80-89.

As noted above, the data with respect to age and the amount of regional Italian spoken in the text is problematic due to the presence of Montalbano and Fazio, who use a combined total of 66 of the 100 tokens of lexical regionalisms under study in the present section. In Table 8, I therefore provide the findings for the usage of regional Italian by age group for the remaining fifteen characters. In comparison with Table 7, the data in Table 8 below present a very different picture of regional Italian usage.

Table 8. Regional Language Usage by Age Group in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: Without Recurring Characters			
Age Group	Number of Characters	Tokens of Usage	Proportion of Usage
0-9	-	-	-
10-19	-	-	-
20-29	1	6	6.00
30-39	4	9	2.25
40-49	2	3	1.50
50-59	3	5	1.67
60-69	1	3	3.00
70-79	2	5	2.50
80-89	2	3	1.50
90-99	-	-	-
Totals	**15**	**34**	**-**

Without Montalbano, the two 40-49 year-olds have dropped from first place to last, sharing the bottom of the ranking with the two 80-89 year-olds. The one speaker in the 20-29 age group now shows the greatest proportion of regional language usage in the text. Also significant is that the three 50-59 year-olds, without the data of Fazio, have moved from third to fifth place in the rankings. The 30-39 year-olds, despite having the largest number of speakers in the data, have moved into the mid range. Those in the 60-60 and 70-79 age groups have also risen in the standings, from fourth and fifth place to second and third, respectively.

Significantly, the findings presented in Tables 7 and 8 with respect to age and regional Italian usage are almost completely at odds with the main finding of the 2007 report of the *Istituto Nazionale di Statistica* (National Institute of Statistics, ISTAT) in terms of age and the use of dialect. This report indicates that that "*l'uso del dialetto cresce all'aumentare dell'età* (the use of dialect increases with increasing age)", with ages 6-24 representing the least amount of dialect usage and ages 65 and up representing the most (p. 2). By comparison, Table 7 shows that the use of regional Italian by characters in Camilleri's text is mixed, with middle-aged and younger age groups displaying the highest usage and the older age groups and the

30-39 year-olds displaying average to low usage. Table 7 also shows a mixed pattern of usage in the mid-range, but a complete reversal of the ISTAT findings with respect to usage: the 20-29 year-olds use the greatest amount of regional Italian, while the 80-80 years olds use the least.

Generally speaking, the data in the stories suggest that Camilleri's characters do not reflect authentic Italians with respect to age and linguistic preferences. It must be stated, however, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw any definitive conclusions about the characters' regional Italian usage given that roughly half of the 93 regional Italian speakers in the text, not to mention over three quarters of the potential regionalisms, were eliminated from this portion of the analysis.

6.3.1.2 Gender

Of the 50 characters who use sign, phraseological or semantic regionalisms in the short stories, Camilleri provides the gender for 49 of them. One character, who uses 1 lexical regionalism, was referred to only as "*anima piatosa* (pious soul)" and was therefore eliminated from the data (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 280). Of the 49 remaining characters who use Sicilian Italian in the text, 40 are male and 9 are female. Table 9 presents the findings with respect to regional Italian usage by gender for these 49 characters:

Table 9. Regional Language Usage by Gender in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: With Recurring Characters

Gender	Number of Characters	Tokens of Usage	Percentage of Usage
men	40	173	84.80%
women	9	31	15.20%
Totals	**49**	**204**	**100%**

The data illustrate that speakers of regional Italian are overwhelmingly male. This finding, however, is largely a reflection of the strong presence of male characters in

the stories. Of the 145 characters who use spoken or written language in the text, 114 (78.62%) are male and 31 (21.38%) are female. With respect to the amount of regional Italian spoken, the number of tokens for the male characters is inflated by the presence of the data for the 5 recurring characters, i.e., Montalbano, Fazio, Augello, Catarella and Zito, who use a combined total of 101 of the 204 lexical regionalisms under consideration in the present section.

In an effort to eliminate some of the skew in the data with respect to the amount of regional Italian usage by gender, I provide the data without the 5 recurring characters in Table 10 below.

Table 10. Regional Language Usage by Gender in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: Without Recurring Characters

Gender	Number of Characters	Tokens of Usage	Percentage of Usage
men	35	72	69.90%
women	9	31	30.10%
Totals	**44**	**103**	**100%**

The above data clearly illustrate that the usage of regional Italian in the short stories is more common among men than women. Even without the combined 101 lexical items used by Montalbano, Fazio, Augello, Catarella and Zito, the male characters use considerably more regional language than the females. Once again, however, this imbalance in the amount of regional language use is also a reflection of the disproportionately high number of male characters in the text.

The finding presented in Tables 9 and 10 for regional usage by gender is, on a general level, consistent with the finding presented by ISTAT (2007) with respect to dialect usage and gender, which indicates that men tend to use more dialect than women (p. 2). It must be emphasized, however, that the ISTAT report shows only a small difference in the amount of dialect used by the genders, ranging anywhere

from 3 to 6 percentage points in the various domains of comparison. In contrast, the ratio of male/female regional Italian usage suggested by Camilleri in the stories is much more exaggerated, owing to the predominantly male cast of characters.

6.3.1.3 Occupation

Camilleri gives the occupations for 43 of the 50 characters who use sign, phraseological or semantic regionalisms in the short stories. Among these 43 characters, ten broad types of employment are represented, as illustrated in Table 11.

Table 11. Ten Employment Categories in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*
agriculture
business/professional
crime
police
housewives/widows
journalism
medicine
religion
retirement
service

As the above list indicates, I have included the categories of "crime" and "housewives/widows" as employment types. I treated crime as an occupation since most of the characters under investigation are presented as career criminals in the text. The character of Lorella, for example, is introduced as one of "*le tre buttane ufficiali del paìsi* (the three official whores of the town)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 314). The decision to include "housewives/widows" as its own category of employment was based on the 2007 ISTAT report, which lists "*casalinghe* (housewives)" as one of its categories of employment (p. 6).

Table 12 presents the findings with respect to regional Italian usage by employment category for these 43 characters.

Table 12. Regional Language Usage by Employment Category in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: With Recurring Characters

Employment Category	Number of Characters	Tokens of Usage	Proportion of Usage
police	14	121	8.64
journalism	1	6	6.00
agriculture	1	5	5.00
retirement	4	18	4.50
medicine	3	7	2.33
housewives/widows	4	9	2.25
crime	4	8	2.00
business/professional	8	14	1.75
service	3	5	1.67
religion	1	1	1.00
Totals	**43**	**194**	**-**

The data reveals a number of findings with respect to the use of regional Italian by employment type. First, the category of police has the largest number of speakers and represents the highest usage of regional Italian. Of course, this category is inflated owing both to the large number of policemen in the text and to the presence of the 5 recurring characters, 4 of whom are policemen. The category of journalism is also skewed due to the recurrence of Nicolò Zito, which accounts for its second-place ranking in the standings. Agriculture and retirement also rank high with respect to regional Italian use, followed by medicine, crime and housewives/widows. Despite having 8 speakers, business/professional is third from the last in the table, followed by the 3 characters in the service industry. The one character who works in religion uses the least amount of regional Italian in the text.

In Table 13 below, I have eliminated the data for the 5 recurring characters to provide a less biased picture of Sicilian regional Italian usage with respect to employment.

Table 13. Regional Language Usage by Employment Category in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: Without Recurring Characters			
Employment Category	Number of Characters	Tokens of Usage	Proportion of Usage
agriculture	1	5	5.00
retirement	4	18	4.50
police	10	26	2.60
medicine	3	7	2.33
housewives/widows	4	9	2.25
crime	4	8	2.00
business/professional	8	14	1.75
service	3	5	1.67
religion	1	1	1.00
journalism	0	0	0.00
Totals	**38**	**93**	**-**

The data in Table 13 present a very different pattern from that of Table 12 in terms of regional language usage by occupation. In fact, owing to the elimination of the four policeman and the journalist, the police have moved from first to third place in the rankings, and journalism is no longer represented. As a result, agriculture and retirement, respectively, now represent the largest amount of regional usage in the text. Although the respective categories of medicine, housewives/widows, crime, business/professional, service and religion have each moved up one slot in the table due to the absence of data for journalism, they were unaffected by the elimination of the recurring characters and therefore show no change in terms of regional Italian usage.

For purposes of comparison, it was necessary to modify the above-listed categories of employment generated from the stories in order to effectively compare them with findings from the 2007 ISTAT report. I present the modified categories and their contents in Table 14.

Table 14. Modified Categories of Employment in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*
white collar (business/professional, medicine)
middle-class (journalism, police, religion)
blue collar (agriculture, service)
housewives/widows
retirement

As the above categories indicate, I established five generic types of employment for comparative purposes, two of which, i.e., retirement and housewives/widows, have not changed from the previous tables. Six categories, however, had to be collapsed as follows: business/professional and medicine comprise "white collar"; journalism, police and religion are "middle-class"; and, agriculture and service are "blue collar". The category of crime was eliminated from this portion of the analysis, as criminal activity is obviously not included as an employment type in the ISTAT report.

The findings with respect to the amount of regional language usage by modified employment category are presented in Table 15 below.

Table 15. Amount of Regional Language Usage by Modified Employment Category in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: With Recurring Characters

Modified Employment Category	Number of Characters	Tokens of Usage	Proportion of Usage
middle-class (journalism, police, religion)	16	128	8.00
Retirement	4	18	4.50
blue collar (agriculture, service)	4	10	2.50
housewives/widows	4	9	2.25
white collar (bus/professional, medicine)	11	21	1.91

In light of the collapsing of the categories, the data illustrate that middle-class speakers in Camilleri's stories use the largest proportion of regional language. They are followed in descending order by retirement, blue collar workers, housewives and white collar workers. Once again, however, the data are biased in favor of the middle-class due to the presence of the four policeman and one journalist who appear in multiple stories.

In Table 16, I present the findings for Sicily regional Italian usage by employment category without the data for the five characters who appear in multiple stories.

Table 16. Amount of Regional Language Usage by Modified Employment Category in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: Without Recurring Characters			
Modified Employment Category	Number of Characters	Tokens of Usage	Proportion of Usage
retirement	4	18	4.50
blue collar (agriculture, service)	4	10	2.50
middle-class (police and religion)	11	27	2.45
housewives/widows	4	9	2.25
white collar (bus/professional, medicine)	11	21	1.91

In comparison with Table 15, the data in Table 16 show a rather different picture of regional Italian usage. Following the elimination of the recurring characters, all of whom have middle-class jobs, the retired workers rise to the top of the ranks in terms of the amount of regional language usage. Blue collar workers also move up in the standings, from third to second place, while the middle-class workers drop two places to third. There is no change in the rankings of housewives and white collar workers, who place fourth and fifth, respectively.

Significantly, the data from Table 16 reflects both what is generally known about dialect usage in the contemporary Italian context and what is reported by ISTAT. Older Italians, who represent the generations in retirement, typically use the largest amount of dialect (ISTAT, 2007, p. 2). In fact, the mixed use of dialect and Italian begins "*diminuire nelle generazioni più anziane a favore di un uso esclusivo del dialetto* (to diminish in the oldest generations in favour of an exclusive use of dialect)" (Ibid.). Those with lower levels of education, i.e., those who typically hold blue collar jobs, use high levels of dialect (ISTAT, p. 3). By contrast, Italian women, many of whom are housewives and stay-at-home mothers, "*mostrano una maggiore propensione a esprimersi soltanto o prevalentemente in italiano in famiglia* (show a greater propensity to express themselves only or prevalently in Italian within the family)" and among friends (ISTAT, p. 2), primarily because they are responsible for

teaching their children a language that will help them achieve success at school and in the workplace. Finally, those with high levels of education, i.e., the white collar workers, tend to use the least amount of dialect (ISTAT, p. 3). As with the data for age and regional Italian use, however, it must be stressed that it is difficult to make determinations about the characters' regional Italian usage in light of the elimination of a substantial portion of the characters and their language from the analysis.

6.3.1.4 Contexts of Use

An analysis of the 205 semantic, phraseological and semantic regionalisms used by the 50 characters in the short stories revealed that 204 of these lexical items were represented as spoken and one was presented as written in an anonymous note. The findings for context of use involve four separate categories with respect to the use of these oral and written regionalisms: the context of the communication; the location or medium in which the communication took place; the register of the communication; and, the emotional tone of the communication. The findings for each are presented in the four subsections below.

6.3.1.4.1 Context

The data revealed a total of ten different contexts of use with respect to the 205 lexical regionalisms, all of which are listed in Table 17 below.

Table 17. Ten Contexts of Regional Italian Usage in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*
TV news crime report
gossip
Mafia business
non-police work
personal matters: crime related
personal matters: non-crime related
police business
police interrogation
police work
reporting or discussing a crime

While the three categories of TV news crime report, police interrogation and non-police work are fairly straightforward, the other seven warrant some explanation: (1) gossip, within the context of the thirty short stories, consists solely of talk between townspeople about an unsolved crime; (2) Mafia business refers to criminal dealings between Mafia members; (3) personal matters: crime-related represents private conversations between family, friends or colleagues that involve a crime; (4) personal matters: non-crime-related consists of private conversations between family, friends or colleagues that do not involve a crime; (5) police business is a situation in which a non-suspect is contacted by the police for information pertaining to a crime; (6) police work is defined as communication between police and all related entities involved in the investigation and resolution of a crime; and, (7) reporting/discussing a crime, is a situation in which an individual who is neither a policeman nor a suspect reports or discusses a crime with police. Significantly, only two of these ten contexts are not related either directly or indirectly to police matters: non-police work and personal matters: non-crime-related.

In Table 18, I present the findings for each of these ten contexts with respect to regional Italian usage.

Table 18. Contexts of Regional Italian Usage in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: With Recurring Characters

Context	Tokens of Usage	Percentage of Usage
police work	99	48.29%
police interrogation	44	21.46%
reporting or discussing a crime	21	10.24%
police business	15	7.32%
personal matters: non-crime related	8	3.91%
personal matters: crime related	7	3.41%
TV news crime report	4	1.95%
gossip	4	1.95%
Mafia business	2	0.98%
non-police work	1	0.49%
Totals	**205**	**100%**

The above data indicate that the most frequent context of use of regional Italian is police work, while the least frequent is non-police work. This finding is not surprising given that the text centers on the commission and resolution of crimes. What is significant, however, is that three of the ten contexts of use that are associated with regional Italian in the stories, i.e., gossip, personal matters: non-crime-related and the Mafia, are strongly associated with the use of dialect in contemporary Italian society. Also significant is the large number of regionalisms in the four categories of usage associated with police matters: police business; police interrogation; police work; and, reporting or discussing a crime. These figures suggests that the public and the police use a considerable amount of regional Italian in their formal dealings with one another. Because the police are disproportionately represented in the text and use a high amount of regional language in their dealings with colleagues, however, it is necessary to eliminate the regionalisms used by the four recurring police characters and the journalist/crime reporter before making this determination.

The data for regional Italian usage with respect to context of use without the 5 recurring characters is provided in Table 19 below.

Table 19. Contexts of Regional Italian Usage in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: Without Recurring Characters

Context	Tokens of Usage	Percentage of Usage
police interrogation	39	37.50%
police work	25	24.04%
Reporting or discussing a crime	14	13.46%
police business	6	5.77%
personal matters: crime-related	5	4.80%
TV news crime report	4	3.85%
gossip	4	3.85%
personal matters: non-crime-related	4	3.85%
Mafia business	2	1.92%
non-police work	1	0.96%
Totals	**104**	**100%**

The data in Table 18 show that four of the ten contexts were unaffected by the removal of the data for the 5 characters, i.e., TV news crime report; gossip, Mafia business and non-police work, which is to be expected since these four contexts do not directly involve the police. Furthermore, the data remain heavily concentrated around the contexts of use which directly involve the police, i.e., police interrogation, police work and reporting or discussing a crime, despite the elimination of the 101 regionalisms used by the 5 recurring characters. These findings suggest that regional Italian is a strong feature of communication between the police and the general public in the short stories.

6.3.1.4.2 Location

The 205 lexical regionalisms in the short stories were used in a total of twenty different types of locations. The complete list of these locations is provided in Table 20 below.

Table 20. Twenty Locations of Regional Italian Usage in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*
beach
caffè
church
circus
crime scene
hotel
jail
motorized vehicle
office
party
pharmacy
police station
public street
residence
restaurant
shoe store
telephone call
television interview
unsigned note (written)
unstated

This list indicates that the twenty locations of use generated from the text are typical of every day life with the exception of "unstated". This category refers to those situations in which the location of the utterance was not provided by the author. It is important to note that there is also one written medium on the list: the category of "unsigned note".

In Table 21 below, I present the findings for regional Italian usage with respect to location.

Table 21. Locations of Regional Italian Usage in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: With Recurring Characters

Location	Tokens of Usage	Percentage of Usage
police station	65	31.71%
residence	45	21.95%
telephone call	25	12.20%
crime scene	12	5.85%
hotel	11	5.37%
beach	7	3.41%
party	7	3.41%
public street	7	3.41%
motorized vehicle	4	1.95%
television interview	4	1.95%
caffè	3	1.46%
pharmacy	3	1.46%
restaurant	3	1.46%
unstated	3	1.46%
church	1	0.49%
circus	1	0.49%
jail	1	0.49%
office	1	0.49%
shoe store	1	0.49%
unsigned note (written)	1	0.49%
Totals	**205**	**99.99%**

The above data shows that regional Italian is used in both the public and private spheres, which is an important finding since the use of dialect has traditionally been associated with the familiar realm, i.e., the private sphere. The data also indicates that there is a heavy concentration of regional Italian usage in three locations: the police station, the residences, and on the telephone. There is a lesser concentration of usage in the locations of the crime scenes and the hotels. Notably, only two of

these five locations are directly associated with police work: the crime scenes and the police station. It is therefore necessary to consider the data without the presence of the 5 recurring characters in order to determine the extent to which the locations of the residences, telephone calls and the hotels are affected by their presence in the data.

Table 22 provides the data for regional Italian usage with respect to location without the 5 recurring characters:

Table 22. Locations of Regional Italian Usage in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: Without Recurring Characters

Location	Tokens of Usage	Percentage of Usage
residence	35	33.63%
police station	25	24.04%
beach	6	5.77%
public street	6	5.77%
telephone call	6	5.77%
crime scene	5	4.81%
television interview	4	3.85%
hotel	3	2.88%
motorized vehicle	3	2.88%
party	3	2.88%
unstated	2	1.92%
caffè	1	0.96%
church	1	0.96%
jail	1	0.96%
pharmacy	1	0.96%
restaurant	1	0.96%
unsigned note (written)	1	0.96%
circus	0	0.00%
office	0	0.00%
shoe store	0	0.00%
Totals	**104**	**99.96%**

By removing the data for the 5 characters, the categories of circus, office and shoe store were eliminated from the analysis. Additionally, the data in three of the five categories was considerably reduced: crime scene; hotel; and telephone calls. This finding indicates that the locations of hotel and telephone call, like crime scene, are strongly associated with police business in the stories. It is also significant that the categories of residence and police station still represent the largest amount of

regional Italian usage, despite the elimination of the 5 recurring characters. A high amount of regional language usage would be expected in Italian residences, since these represent the private sphere. Also, the large number of regionalisms used in the police station lends further support to the finding in Table 19, which indicates that the public and the police use a large amount of regional Italian in their dealings with one another. This finding is notable, since it suggests that the use of regional Italian is not stigmatized in communication between the public and state officials, a context which has traditionally been perceived as a formal one in Italian society.

6.3.1.4.3 Register

The data for the use of the 205 lexical regionalisms with respect to register is presented in Table 23.

Table 23. Register of Regional Italian Usage in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: With Recurring Characters

Register	Tokens of Usage	Percentage of Usage
formal	103	50.24%
informal	102	49.76%
Totals	**205**	**100%**

As the data shows, regional Italian is used virtually equally in formal and informal communication. This finding is quite surprising given that the use of dialect has traditionally been reserved for the private sphere and therefore occurs primarily in informal speech. Furthermore, given the police-related nature of the stories, it appears to support the findings that the public and the police use a large amount of regional Italian both in the contexts of discussing police matters and in the location of the police station. More importantly, however, these figures suggest that regional Italian functions as language and not simply as dialect, and therefore bears little or no stigma in formal situations. This finding is consistent with Alfonzetti's (1990)

assertion that Italian and dialect have reached a "sociolinguistic neutrality" in Sicily (p. 182). Once again, however, before this conclusion can be made it is necessary to determine the effect of the 5 recurring characters on the data.

Table 24 presents the data for regional Italian usage with respect to register without the 5 recurring characters.

Table 24. Register of Use of Regional Italian Usage in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*: Without Recurring Characters

Register	Tokens of Usage	Percentage of Usage
formal	68	65.38%
informal	36	34.62%
Totals	**104**	**100%**

As the above figures indicate, the data for formal and informal register were significantly reduced by the removal of the 5 characters: the use of regional Italian in formal communication was dropped by one third; and the use of regional language in informal communication dropped by about two thirds. The data in Table 24 therefore suggests that the remaining 45 characters in the text are more likely to use regional Italian in formal rather than informal communication. This finding strengthens the notion that regional Italian functions as language in the Sicilian context.

6.3.1.4.4 Emotional Tone

Because *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* is a written text, the data for the emotional tone of the communication was quite difficult to collect. In fact, it was often impossible to ascertain a given character's precise state of mind when using regional language in the absence of some sort of specific indication from the narrator. Consequently, I was able to document the use of only 17 of the 205 regionalisms in association with four specific emotions: angry; nervous; sad; and surprised. The emotional tone for the remaining regionalisms is

therefore described as "unstated". In Table 25, I present my findings with respect to emotional tone and regional Italian usage, both with and without the data for the 5 recurring characters.

Table 25. Emotional Tone of Regional Italian Usage in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*

Emotional Tone	Tokens of Usage: With Recurring Characters	Tokens of Usage: Without Recurring Characters
Angry	12	9
nervous	2	2
Sad	1	1
surprised	2	0
unstated	188	92
Totals	**205**	**104**

As the above table indicates, there is not enough data from which to draw any significant conclusions about the relationship between emotion and regional language usage.

6.3.2 Implications of Age, Gender, Occupation and Contexts of Use

Due to the elimination of over 75% of the lexical items identified by the model and the preponderance of men and, in particular, middle-aged policemen, in the data, the findings with respect to the use of regional Italian as it relates to age, gender, occupation and contexts of use are problematic. Nevertheless, a number of key points can be made about the results. Although the findings for age were particularly questionable due to the presence of only 17 out of 145 characters in the data, it appears that regional Italian is spoken at least to some degree by a broad range of ages: from 29-89. The use of regional Italian also seems to be highest among males. Like the findings for age, the findings for regional Italian usage by employment category are debatable; however, the data indicates that regional

language is used by a wide assortment of employment types, ranging from agricultural jobs to business/professional positions. In terms of the contexts of use of regional Italian, despite the fact that these are heavily skewed toward those which involve the police, it is significant to find lexical regionalisms are used in both oral and written communication and are associated with both personal and professional contexts. It is also quite significant that regional Italian is used in a large number of public and private locations and is common in both formal and informal communication. Finally, while the data for the emotional tone of the conversations containing lexical regionalisms was inclusive, it does seem that emotion plays at least a minor role in the use of regional language. Overall, then, the public nature of the use of lexical regionalisms in the text suggests that in the Sicilian context regional Italian functions less like dialect, which is typically a feature of the private realm, and more like standard language.

6.4 Findings for Research Question 3

What does Camilleri's depiction of regional language and its use in the Sicilian context indicate about contemporary Italy and the speech of Italians?

6.4.1 Contemporary Italy

The findings with respect to Camilleri's depiction of regional language usage in the context of Sicily and what it indicates about contemporary Italy consist of two main parts: a discussion of the primary and secondary settings of the thirty short stories in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*; and, a discussion of the major themes represented in the text. For this section, the 205 regionalisms used by the speakers as well as the 302 regionalisms used in the narration were considered, since any investigation of Camilleri's depiction of Italy must include his voice as narrator.

6.4.1.1 Settings

In Table 26, I provide a list of the primary settings in which the thirty short stories are situated. By primary setting, I am referring to both the name of the region and the specific city or town in which the action occurs. For each primary setting, I also include the number of stories in which it is featured.

Table 26. Primary Settings in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*

Region	City or Town	Number of Stories
Sicily	between Vigàta and Fiacca	1
Sicily	Cannatello	1
Sicily	Carlòsimo	1
Sicily	Castro	1
Sicily and Lazio	from Palermo to Rome	1
Sicily	Monterreale	1
Sicily	Palermo	1
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	Trieste	1
Sicily	Vigàta (exclusively)	18
Sicily	Vigàta and Belmonte	1
Sicily	Vigàta and Còmiso	1
Sicily	Vigàta and Mazàro del Vallo	1
Sicily	Vigàta and Montelusa	1

As the above data indicates, the imaginary city of Vigàta, Sicily is the exclusive setting of 18 of the stories; however, it is the shared setting of 4 additional stories. A total of 6 stories take place in other Sicilian cities and towns, one of which occurs in an unknown location somewhere between Vigàta and Fiacca. Although the primary setting of one of the stories is listed as both Sicily and Lazio, the action begins as Montalbano boards a train in and abruptly ends when he disembarks in Rome. There is therefore only one story which takes place in its entirety in a non-Sicilian location, and it is set in Trieste, Friuli-Venezia Giulia.

The lexical regionalisms in the stories which relate directly to the physical setting can be grouped into two main categories: landscape and local cuisine.

Interestingly, there is only one regionalism that describes a feature of the landscape: the term "*chiarchiàro* (Sic. *chiarchiaru*; Eng. rugged area of terrain)" (Camilleri, 1998b, pp. 50), which is used to depict a rocky zone in Vigàta. The dearth of descriptive terms that refer to the setting may be explained by the fact that Camilleri typically de-emphasizes the appearance of the scene of the action in the stories and instead focuses on developing the language of his characters and the details of the plot.

Although Camilleri (1998b) uses almost no regional Italian to describe the physical appearance of the settings, he frequently uses regionalisms, not to mention dialect, to associate them with local cuisine. The regional food terms used in connection with Sicilian cities and towns are as follows: "*calìa e simenza* (roasted chickpeas and pumpkin seeds)" (p. 282), "*cannoli* (a ricotta-filled Sicilian pastry)" (p. 244), "*cassata* (a Sicilian cake)" (p. 66), "*chiapparina di Pantelleria* (capers from Pantelleria)" (p. 211), "*pasta 'ncasciata* (a baked pasta dish with egg, meat, eggplant and sauce)" (p. 129) and "*sarde a beccafico* (fried sardine rolls)" (p. 118). As previously noted, Camilleri also uses a Northern variety of regional Italian to present a typical dish of Trieste called "*guatti sfilettati* (surmullet in broth)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 148) and a white wine native to the area called "*un terrano del Carso* (a dry white wine from the Karst plain)" (Ibid.).

As discussed in section 6.3.4.2, lexical regionalisms are used in twenty locations by the speakers in the stories. These twenty locations function as important sites of action in the cities and towns in question and, as such, comprise secondary settings. In addition to these twenty locations, Camilleri references two additional secondary settings in his narration: a ship and funerals. In Table 27, I list the secondary settings in the thirty short stories.

Table 27. Secondary Settings in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*
beach
caffè
church
circus
crime scene
funeral
hotel
jail
motorized vehicle
office
party
pharmacy
police station
public street
residence
restaurant
ship
shoe store
telephone call
television interview
unsigned note (written)
unstated

Surprisingly, an analysis of the 507 lexical regionalisms in the text revealed that only four are used in direct association with these secondary settings. The regionalism "*camposanto* (Sic. *campusantu*; It. *cimitero*; Eng. cemetery)" (Camilleri, 1998, p. 220, p. 282) appears in the narration of two stories in reference to funerals. In three of the stories, Camilleri (1998b) uses "*settimanile* (Sic. *settimanili*; It. *cassettone*; Eng. chest of drawers)" (pp. 106, 298, 269) to refer to furniture in a church and two residences. Also, "*cammarera* (Sic. *cammarera*; It. *domestica*; Eng. maid)" (Camilleri, 1998b, pp. 111, 201, 271, 363, 366, 378) is used to refer to maids working in four residences and two hotels. Finally, in two stories, Camilleri (1998b) uses numerous tokens of the verb *scippare* (Sic. *scippari*; It. *rapinare/scippare*; Eng. to mug) and its variants in reference to public streets in Vigàta and Palermo: for example, "*scippano* (Sic. *scippanu*; It. *rapinano/scippano*; Eng. they mug)" (p. 130); "*scippo* (Sic. *scippu*; It. *rapina/scippo*; Eng. mugging)" (p. 393); and "*scippatore* (Sic. *scippatori*; It. *rapinatore/scippatore*; Eng. mugger)" (p. 389).

6.4.1.2 Main Themes

Table 27 lists the 36 major themes indentified in the short stories, as well as the number of stories in which each appears. My definition of theme includes not only the plot of the story, but also any major institutions, issues and holidays associated with the plot.

Table 28. Themes in Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*

Theme	Number of Stories
vengeance	6
Mafia	4
suicide	4
Catholic Church	3
thievery	3
World War II	3
wrongfully accused	3
bribery	2
crime of passion	2
holiday	2
murder plot	2
rape	2
adultery	1
anonymous letter	1
artistry	1
covering up crime	1
deception	1
diamond smuggling	1
domestic violence	1
exorcism	1
fable	1
Fascism	1
guerilla warfare	1
homosexuality	1
immigration	1
inheritance	1
patriotism	1
pedophilia	1
pregnancy	1
revenge	1
saving a life	1
Sicilian western	1
silence a witness	1
taking on the Mafia	1
vendetta	1
wrongful killing	1

As the above data indicates, the theme of vengeance is featured as the plot of 6 stories, making it the most frequent theme in the text. The institution of the Mafia

and the issue of suicide are also prominent themes, as they are represented in 4 stories each. Other common themes include the Catholic Church, thievery, World War II, and the wrongfully accused.

An analysis of the regional language in the stories revealed that there are only two themes with which regional Italian is directly associated: the Mafia; and, thievery. Camilleri (1998b) uses the largest number of lexical regionalisms in reference to the Mafia: "*capocosca* (Sic. *capocosca*; It. *capocosca*; Eng. boss of a Mafia clan)" (p. 49); "*cosca* (Sic. *cosca*; It. *cosca*; Eng. Mafia clan)" (p. 53); "*don* (Sic. *don*; It. *signore*; Eng. a title which precedes the Christian name of a Mafia boss)" (p. 49); "*mafia* (Sic. *mafia*; It. *mafia*; Eng. Mafia)" (p. 331); "*mafioso* (Sic. *mafiusu*; It. *mafioso*, Eng. mobster)" (p. 184); "*picciotto* (Sic. *picciottu*; It. *giovane mafioso*; Eng. young mobster)" (p. 329); and, "*pagare il pizzo* (Sic. *pagari lu pizzu*; It. *pagare il pizzo*; Eng. to pay the bribe)" (p. 130). To depict thievery, the author uses the regionalisms discussed in reference to the secondary setting of the public street in section 6.4.1.1: "*scippano* (Sic. *scippanu*; It. *rapinano/scippano*; Eng. they mug)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 130); "*scippo* (Sic. *scippu*; It. *rapina/scippo*; Eng. mugging)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 393); and "*scippatore* (Sic. *scippatori*; It. *rapinatore/scippatore*; Eng. mugger)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 389).

6.4.1.3 Implications of Settings and Main Themes

The lexical regionalisms used to portray the primary and secondary settings of Sicily and the Northern Italian city of Trieste, as well as the overall themes of the stories suggest several things about contemporary Italy. First, Italy is ordinary. The above-listed sign regionalisms used to describe the secondary settings function, as the word "sign" suggests, as signifiers of ordinary people, places and objects, such as a maid, a cemetery and a chest of drawers. Italy also has crime, in particular the

presence of organized criminal activity in the form of the Mafia, but also the problem of petty thievery, such as muggings. And, despite the obvious geographical differences between the regions, what makes Italy diverse is not so much a question of landscape but rather cuisine. For like its cuisine, Italy is a product of the assorted cultures which define and create it.

6.4.2 The Speech of Italians

The findings with respect to Camilleri's use of Sicilian Italian and what it suggests about the speech of Italians consists of two parts: a description of the emergent themes with respect to the ways in which Camilleri uses lexical regionalisms to depict the way Italians speak; and, a general discussion of the affective features of the regionalisms used by the speakers. Because this portion of the analysis focuses exclusively on speech, the 302 lexical regionalisms used in the narration were excluded from this portion of the analysis.

6.4.2.1 Emergent Themes

An analysis of the 205 lexical regionalisms used by Camilleri to portray the speech of Italians in the short stories revealed two broad themes: states of being and ways of behaving. The Italian speakers in the text employ regionalisms to refer to their own behavior or to that of another character; for example, "*feci voci* (Sic. *fici vuci*; It. *gridai*; Eng. I screamed)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 261); "*si fa pirsuaso* (Sic. *si fa pirsuasu*; It. pensa; Eng. he thinks)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 373); and, "*comincia a nasare qualcosa* (Sic. *accumincia a nasari quarchiccosa*; It. *comincia a fiutare qualcosa*; Eng. he's beginning to sniff out something)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 57). The characters also use regional Italian to describe their states of being: for instance, "*ero scantato* (Sic. era *scantatu*; It. *ero spaventato*; Eng. I was afraid)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 184); and "*Mi sento pigliato dai turchi* (Sic. *Mi sentu pigliatu di turchi*; It.

Mi sento colto alla sprovvista; Eng. I feel caught by surprise)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 67).

6.4.2.2 Affective Quality

Although commenting on the affective quality of language is complicated, particularly in the context of a written text, a few general observations can be made with respect to the 205 Sicilian regionalisms used by the Italian characters in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. In general, the speakers use two types of lexical regionalisms in the stories: those which are essentially informational in nature; and, those which are imbued with historical or cultural meaning. The noun "*paro* (Sic. *pari*; It. *paia*; Eng. pair)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 333) is an example of the informational type, as it provides basic information about an amount. While "*paro* (pair)" may be more familiar and therefore more comfortable to the Sicilian speaker, it is difficult to view it as more inherently expressive than its Italian equivalent *paia* (pair). Conversely, the above-mentioned Sicilian Italian phrase "*pigliato dai turchi* (lit., taken by the Turks; fig., caught by surprise)" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 67) is an example of the historical/cultural type, as it references the Turkish raids of the 1600's in which Sicilians were captured and forced into slavery. From the standpoint of the Sicilian speaker, it is possible that the Italian equivalent of this phrase, "*colto alla sprovvista* (caught unprepared)", does not hold quite the same significance as its Sicilian Italian equivalent. Even if the Sicilian speaker is unaware of the tragic history behind the expression "*pigliato dai turchi* (taken by the Turks)", he or she may prefer it either because it is, once again, more familiar, or because it is more descriptive and colorful than "*colto alla sprovvista* (caught unprepared)". Despite the apparent differences between the two types of lexical regionalisms described above, it must be emphasized that for contemporary speakers of dialect, all dialect terms regardless of

meaning are typically considered to be expressive in nature simply because they represent the maternal or local language.

Based on a holistic analysis of the 205 lexical regionalisms in Camilleri's stories, I have established that the historical/cultural type is much more prevalent than the informational type, representing roughly two-thirds of the Sicilian Italian used by the speakers in the text. This finding is hardly surprisingly given that the author is, by profession, an artist who carefully crafts his language according to his objectives. Because one of Camilleri's primary objectives appears to be that of Sicilianizing his texts in a manner that is accessible to an Italian reading public, it is therefore to be expected that he would choose precisely those Sicilian Italian words and phrases which are most expressive in nature: namely, sign, semantic and phraseological regionalisms which function as obvious signifiers of Sicily, its history and culture.

6.4.3 Implications of Emergent Themes and Affective Quality

Both the thematic context and the affective quality of the lexical regionalisms used by the speakers in the text indicate several important points about Italians and their language. The miscellaneous themes of the regional language Camilleri employs to depict the speech of Italians imply that Italianness is something intangible. Like ways of acting and being, Italianness is at once a learned behaviour and a state of mind. The fact that the essence of the Italian identity is represented with local and regional languages serves to underscore the point that Italians cannot be uniformly defined or characterized. Furthermore, because the nature of the language Camilleri uses to portray the speech of his characters is often highly expressive, he gives emphasis to the point that language and culture, particularly in the Italian context, are inseparable.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Summary of Findings

The findings of the present dissertation support the assertions of La Fauci (2003; 2004), Lupo (2004) and Manai (2008) that Camilleri's literary language is an artistic rendering of the regional Italian of Sicily. Of the 2,565 terms identified through the application of the revised version of Sgroi's (1990) sociolinguistic model to *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*, more than 1,000 of these lexemes may be phonological adaptations or even invented terms created by the author to Sicilianize his language in a manner that perhaps renders it more easily readable for his Italian audience. Precisely because one of Camilleri's professional objectives appears to be that of Sicilianizing his literary language, it is not surprising that the author largely avoids both the practice of hypercharacterization, since it constitutes speaker avoidance of dialect, and the use of atypical regionalisms, as these are derived from non-dialect sources. What is surprising, however, is the extent to which Camilleri relies on hyperfrequency to give the language of his stories a more Sicilian appearance: there are approximately 1,027 Italian words, many of which are common, obsolete or literary terms, that seem to have been intentionally selected by the author owing to their similarity to corresponding Sicilian dialect terms. Also unexpected is Camilleri's use of 507 sign, phraseological and semantic regionalisms that are authentic to the regional Italian of Sicily. Although this number seems somewhat insignificant with respect to the 2,565 lexical items identified in the model, it is considerable when compared to the 138 sign, phraseological and

semantic regionalisms identified by Sgroi (1990) in Sciascia's *Il giorno della civetta (The Day of the Owl)*. Nevertheless, it is clear that the amount of regional language in Camilleri's text which can be verified as genuine Sicilian Italian is quite small, comprising only 0.58% of the total words used by the author.

The authentic and artistic aspects of Camilleri's language apply not only to his use of language but also to the development of his characters and their speech habits. Although it is true that the prototypical speaker of regional Italian in the text is a middle-aged male who works for the police, there is a broad spectrum of characters in the stories who use lexical regionalisms in their speech and, in one instance, writing. Both male and female characters use regional Italian, and its use is associated with a wide range of ages and occupational types. The use of regional language among a diverse array of socioeconomic groups is an important feature of Camilleri's stories since it suggests that practically everyone in Italy speaks regional Italian to some degree. Also significant is that the speakers often use regionalisms in private and public contexts and locations as well as in informal and formal communication. Notably, regional Italian usage actually seems to be favored in professional contexts, public locations and formal communication. And, although the findings with respect to regional Italian and emotional tone were inconclusive, it does not appear that regional Italian is strongly associated with emotional situations; rather, it is a feature of normal, everyday conversation. The above findings appear to indicate that while lexical regionalisms are similar to dialect with respect to the relatively small percentage of speech they each comprise, they are more similar to language with respect to their contexts of use because the characters in the text employ them more frequently in public, professional and formal communicative situations.

Finally, there are also artistic and authentic elements to Camilleri's depiction of Italy and the nature of the speech of Italians in the stories. Most notable among them is that Italy has a disproportionately high number of criminals. While it is true that the Mafia and petty thievery, particularly as it applies to tourism, are persistent problems in Italian society, it is clearly an exaggeration of the author to present criminality as so rampant that is has become an established career path. Also exaggerated is the affective quality of the speech of the Sicilian characters in the text. Dialect and regional Italian are expressive by nature, but the author appears to have selected those regionalisms with the greatest expressivity for artistic purposes. What is true of Italy and the language of Italians, however, is that both are the products of a blending of innumerable local and regional languages and cultures. From this perspective, the Sicilian characters in Camilleri's stories function in the same way as the lexical regionalisms they use to communicate: they are sign regionalisms of Italians and of Italy.

One final point must be made about Camilleri's depiction of the regional Italian of Sicily and the controversy that has surrounded it for the past two decades. The author's language, whether it consists of genuine lexical regionalisms, phonological adaptations of Sicilian dialect or hyperfrequent Italian terms, underscores what is known about the Italian linguistic continuum: dialects and varieties of Italian, including the standard, the literary standard, neostandard and popular Italian, not to mention a host of other languages and language forms, often overlap in a number of ways. Whether the Italian intellectuals like it or not, language is not static, but rather changes and evolves in the minds and mouths of its speakers. It is possible, then, that the artistic license Camilleri takes with language is not simply a device used to render Sicilian more readable for the Italian public, but is

also intended to reflect the continually evolving nature of language. In this respect, the author may, in fact, be illustrating an important point relating to the contemporary Italian linguistic situation: although regional Italian is the standard within each of Italy's twenty regions, it is impossible to know for certain what regional Italian or, for that matter, what Italian, really is. In this sense, then, Camilleri's blended use of authentic and artistic language forms to depict the regional Italian of Sicily in his literature represents a new standard, so to speak, in terms of modeling Italian speech for his readers.

7.2 Pedagogical Implications

Despite the tremendous complexity of the linguistic situation in present-day Italy, North American high schools and universities continue to teach the literary standard. A curriculum based solely on standard Italian, however, is problematic in several respects. By favoring the standard in their classrooms, instructors deny students access to the many Italian varieties, dialects, language forms and sociolinguistic practices that typify authentic Italian discourse. The privileged position attributed to the standard also contributes to the stigma that has traditionally been associated with the dialects, causing many Italian-American and native Italian students to feel embarrassment or even disdain for their mother tongue. Finally, the absence of varieties of Italian and dialects from the Italian language classroom deprives students of the ability to gain an understanding and appreciation for these vital languages, and this deficiency can perpetuate or even produce negative stereotypes about Italians and their culture.

As "institutions of higher learning," I feel that universities, in particular, are the ideal environment for correcting this imbalance in the way that the Italian language is currently taught. Students of Italian must be exposed to a more realistic

and comprehensive portrayal of the multi-faceted nature of the linguistic situation in Italian society today in order to clarify misconceptions about the language and dispel stereotypes about Italians and Italian culture. It is my contention that the literature of Camilleri, and especially the short stories in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*, is a wonderful tool for teaching students about the contemporary Italian speech community, both in terms of the languages and varieties of language that are spoken and the people who speak them.

The literary language in Camilleri's short stories is an excellent introduction to regional language and dialect. The authentic elements of the regional Italian of Sicily and the Sicilian dialect in the text not only teach students about these specific language forms but can also be used as a base from which to discuss the Gallo-Italic dialects and the resultant regional varieties of the standard. The phonological adaptations, whether real or invented, also serve two significant functions: they make the dialect easier for students to read; and, they highlight the intricate and evolving relationship between dialect and regional Italian. The language in the stories therefore provides students with a basic knowledge of the vocabulary and grammar of a regional variety and its associated dialect, as well as a general understanding of the geographical variation of language in Italy as a whole and the processes of Italianization at work in the Italian speech community.

The stories in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* also serve as a terrific entry into the field of Italian sociolinguistics. Camilleri intentionally incorporates a large and diverse cast of characters into the text in order to depict the broad range of socioeconomic groups that exist in Italian society. And, because he creates his characters based on the languages or language forms that they speak, each character provides insight into the linguistic habits of their respective age

group, gender, educational level, social class and town or region of origin. Camilleri's stories therefore represent not only a means by which students can gain an understanding of who uses which types of language in the Italian speech community, but also offer a way for students to learn about common linguistic practices such as code-mixing and code-switching.

Precisely because of the rich learning opportunities Camilleri's *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* presents, I believe that it is time for teachers of Italian to move beyond the standard Italian of the literary classics and scholastic adaptations such as *Otto giorni con Montalbano (Eight Days with Montalbano)*. By including contemporary texts with regional language and dialect in their classrooms, teachers will enrich students' learning experience and provide them with a more realistic portrait of language as it is spoken in Italy today. This balanced depiction of the Italian linguistic situation will re-elevate the Italian dialects to their status as sister languages, and therefore as equals, of the standard, and will foster pride among heritage language learners and native speakers who learned dialect, rather than the standard, in the home. More importantly, once students are armed with a deeper understanding of the detrimental effects of linguistic disenfranchisement within the Italian context, they will then be better-equipped to comprehend and empathize with linguistic groups experiencing similar situations in their own communities; for example, with the Mexican-Americans' struggle to come to terms with the hegemony of Castilian Spanish. Our continued failure as teachers of Italian to embrace the so-called "nonstandard" language forms in our classrooms deprives students of the ability to learn about authentic Italian language and perpetuates the misguided and harmful notion that anything other than the literary standard is substandard.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

Although Camilleri's rendering of the regional Italian of Sicily in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)* is an excellent resource for researchers, teachers and students of this important variety, the artistic aspects of his language present a number of problems both for sociolinguistic analysis and for classroom instruction. One of the most pressing issues concerns the viability of this text, or any other literary text, as a representation of authentic language usage. While Camilleri's short stories certainly comprise a legitimate depiction of written language in contemporary Italy, they provide, by the very nature of the literary medium, an inauthentic portrait of spoken language. The speech of the characters is necessarily a reflection of the voice of the author and his innumerable life experiences and personal influences. In addition, Camilleri's language is particularly problematic in that it contains phonological adaptations and invented regionalisms. As the present dissertation illustrates, however, Camilleri's writing is, despite the presence of these artistic features, highly reflective of genuine speech practices. I therefore believe, like Sgroi, that literary authors, and precisely those authors such as Camilleri and Sciascia who write in the Italian context, have much to teach us about language and its speakers.

Another limitation of the artistic quality of Camilleri's language pertains to its distribution of lexical and morphosyntactic elements. His representation of regional Italian is, in conformity with the current understanding of this variety, primarily lexical in nature. There are a number of problems, however, with the lexical and morphosyntactic content of the stories. As I argue in Chapter 6, the author intentionally selects the most highly expressive lexical regionalisms in order to Sicilianize his language. In addition, many of these regionalisms are not specific to

the regional Italian of Sicily, but rather are used by speakers of other regional Italians, particularly those of the South. Furthermore, it appears that Camilleri tends to favor only the most recognizable of these terms in his writing. This last point also relates to the virtual absence in the text of regional morphosyntactic elements. Because morphosyntactic features are harder to identify, they are less familiar to speakers. Consequently, Camilleri limits their presence in the text to those few that are most widely known among Italians, such as the tendency of Sicilian speakers to violate the standard Italian Subject-Verb-Object sentence structure in favor of a Subject-Object-Verb pattern, the most famous example of which is Montalbano's greeting "*Montalbano sono (Montalbano I am)*" (Camilleri, 1998b, p. 41). Those wishing to use the short stories for instructional purposes must therefore be careful to address these lexical and morphosyntactic disparities.

A third issue with the language of Camilleri's short stories involves the difficulty in distinguishing the authentic from the artistic terms in the text. In my endeavor to identify the genuine lexical regionalisms in the short stories, I was limited to the existing reference texts pertaining to the Sicilian dialect and the regional Italian of Sicily. Like the Italian language situation, the Sicilian speech community is extremely varied and complex. These reference texts therefore presumably contain only a percentage of the regional Italian currently spoken in Sicily. Additionally, owing to the ever-changing nature of language, a few of these sources are now rather dated. Consequently, it is possible that some lexical regionalisms in the short stories were overlooked and that some authentic regional terms were mistakenly listed as phonological adaptations. Furthermore, because I was unable to determine whether many of the phonological adaptations in the stories were authentic to Sicilian speech, I had to eliminate a substantial portion of the

collected data. As a result, my findings, particularly with respect to age and regional Italian usage, were adversely affected. This study therefore could have benefited greatly either from the input of native speakers of Camilleri's hometown dialect or, at the very least, from a good dictionary of the Sicilian dialect and regional language as it is spoken in the Agrigento area of Sicily.

7.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Due to the tremendous complexity of regional Italian and a scholarly emphasis on the study of the Gallo-Italic dialects, regional Italian has been largely neglected by linguists. As a consequence, there is a serious need to develop models that can be applied to the study of multiple varieties of regional Italian, regardless of their respective similarities or lack thereof in terms of linguistic features. Linguists must therefore create these models in order to help shed light on this important variety. It is further imperative that these models be applicable to both oral and written forms of speech, as the written dimension of Italian cannot be ignored given the literary origins of the language.

Researchers must also continue to both improve upon and apply Sgroi's sociolinguistic model for literary analysis. Literature is an excellent tool with which to teach language, and literary language is particularly relevant in the Italian context. Language is continually evolving, however, and we, as teachers, must evolve with it. It is therefore time for teachers to set a new classroom standard by moving beyond the exclusive use of classic novels to teach with literary texts that more closely approximate Italian as it is spoken in the twenty regions of Italy today. It is therefore my hope that Sgroi's model will eventually be applied to the literature of other regional authors, particularly those who write in the regional Italians of Central

and Northern Italy, in order to make this rich and complex variety more accessible to teachers of Italian and their students.

It is also my hope that scholastic publishers will one day halt the publication of standardized versions of literary texts for use in teaching Italian, or that teachers of Italian will cease to use them in their classrooms. I am specifically referring to texts such as *Otto giorni con Montalbano (Eight Days with Montalbano)* and *Nuove avventure con Montalbano (New Adventures with Montalbano)*, which have been almost completely stripped of the Sicilian dialect and Sicilian regional Italian featured in *Un mese con Montalbano (A Month with Montalbano)*. As I believe I have shown with the present dissertation, the language of Camilleri's original text has so much to offer in terms of authentic language and culture that it would be nothing short of a crime to deprive students of Italian of the tremendous learning opportunities it presents.

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Vita

Originally from Canada, Traci Lee Andrighetti was raised and educated in Texas. After graduating from high school in Houston in 1983, she entered The University of Texas at Austin (UT) where she received a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology in 1988. After graduation, Traci studied Italian, traveled extensively in Italy and eventually acquired sufficient proficiency in the language to work as a professional translator. At the urging of the late Dr. Claudio Segrè, she cancelled her plans to go to law school and instead entered the UT Graduate School in 1991 to study Italian history. While doing historical research, however, she realized that the Italian language was her true passion. Once she had completed the Master of Arts in History in 1995, she returned to UT to satisfy the requirements for a major in Italian. In 1999, she began teaching Italian at UT for University Extension and then in 2001 for the Department of French and Italian. To improve her teaching skills, she reentered the UT Graduate School in 2005 to study Foreign Language Education (FLE). Following the completion of her second Master of Arts in 2006, she entered the UT doctoral program in FLE to study Applied Linguistics with an emphasis in Italian.

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